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Pagans into Christians: The political economy or religious conversion among the Harakmbut of lowland southeastern Peru, 1902–1982

Wahl, Lissie, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1987

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PAGANS INTO CHRISTIANS: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AMONG THE HARAKMBUT OF LOWLAND SOUTHEASTERN PERU, 1902-1982

by

LISSIE WAHL

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The City University of New York.

1987

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PAGANS INTO CHRISTIANS: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AMONG THE HARAKMBUT OF LOWLAND SOUTHEASTERN PERU, 1902-1982

by

Lissie Wahl

Adviser: Professor Eric R. Wolf

This study addresses the development of Dominican missions among the Harakmbut of lowland southeastern Peru in the course of the twentieth century. The part played by political economic processes in the relationship established between missionaries and natives is emphasized.

Field research was carried out in the mission site of Shintuya through participant-observation, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires, although three additional Harakmbut villages were visited. Historical research was conducted in Lima and Cusco, while suppelementary information was gathered in Sicuani, Puno, Santa Rosa de Ocopa, Yarinacocha, Paucartambo, Arequipa, and in La Paz, Bolivia.

Missions are primarily found to have a social impact upon the means and terms through which natives confront both their social conditions of existence and incorporation into a wider polity; in this case, the Peruvian nation-state. The impact of the practical ideologies espoused by the Dominicans is thus found to be shaped by the response to the new social order being posited simultaneously. Of key significance in this regard is the reciprocal action of native and missionary strategies of social reproduction under varying political economic contexts.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study emerges from the recognition that people who share the same types of culture and material resources may differently confront their social conditions of existence and thereby redefine - at times substantially - their place within a wider field of forces. I was initially confronted by this issue in the course of my first visit to the Harakmbut, during 1973. It continued to be kindled by my subsequent interactions, observations, and discussions with not only the Harakmbut but other lowland peoples with whom I have had the opportunity to work over the years, especially through FENAMAD, AIDESEP, and the Coordinadora Amazónica. These articulate native Amazonians in regional, national, and international confederations, respectively. This is, as such, ultimately, a response to the challenge contained in the welcome extended to an anthropologist who, in a leader's words, "for a change, arrives not to study us but what affect us; we already know full well about what we live from day to day, it is what lies beyond that we need to comprehend in order to manage." This concern may play an increasing part in the agenda of anthropology.

In the process of carrying out this study I incurred a personal and professional debt with several persons, groups, and institutions, especially, Tom Moore, Patricia Torres, and Eric Wolf, whose stimulus, standards, concrete work, and good faith led me to both delineate my struggle as an anthropologist and complete this dissertation. Lina Bryant, June Nash, Kae Newcomb, Judith Shapiro, and Eric Wolf gave me helpful editorial suggestions. Charlotte Seymour-Smith helped me translate into English a

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Many more people play a by far more significant part in one's ability to carry out an intellectual endeavor than can ever meet the eye. If, as suggested in this study, an ideological message is as important as the people who uphold it, in all fairness I would have to turn this acknowledgement section into the bulk of my dissertation - or at least half of it. However, this work is ultimately a result of my relationship with the Harakmbut. I acknowledge the signal import of their contribution.

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What the idealists call 'spirit' is not a point of departure but of arrival (Gramsci 1975: 107).

CHAPTER 1

RELIGIOUS MISSIONS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

The present work examines the nature and underpinnings of the social impact a religious mission may have. It focuses on the situation of the Harakmbut peoples of lowland southeastern Peru who, before the arrival of the Spanish Dominicans in the course of the twentieth century, set their own terms of incorporation into the larger society. It aims to outline the procecesses that both intervened in the Dominicans' 'pacification' of the Harakmbut and now need to be reckoned with by the Harakmbut as they resume their struggle to define a place in the larger social order. This study is thus a product of the need to understand the connections that exist between political economy and ideological practice in a context of imposed cultural change.

The Ethnographic Context

The Harakmbut peoples of the Peruvian Amazon speak a common language, variously called Harakmbut or Haté. Existing internal dialectical

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differences in the Harakmbut language correspond, at a first level, to the subgroups in existence. That is, to the Amarakeri, Wachipaeri, Kisambaeri, Sapiteri, Arasaeri, Pukirieri, and Toyoeri groups. At a second level, the differences in dialect are related to the degree and intensity of the interaction established between these various Harakmbut subgroups. Hence, the dialectical differences between the 'inland' Amarakaeri and Kisambaeri groups are minor and can be contrasted with the surrounding Wachipaeri, Arasaeri, Toyoeri, and Sapiteri, who share among themselves a number of dialectical similarities (cf. Gray 1983). In all, the differences do not suggest great historical depth (Lyon 1975). The Harakmbut creation myth, Wanamei, hypothesizes that they are one group of people living under varied local conditions.

The Harakmbut tongue is unrelated to any other language group in the Amazon. Before the turn of the century brought profound changes and dislocations of population, surrounding the Harakmbut to the east and northeast lived the Takana speaking Iñapari and Ese'eja; to the northwest, the Pano speaking Amahuaca and Yaminahua; and to the west, the Arawak speaking Machiguenga and Piro. The linguistic isolation of the Harakmbut is taken to be a sign of the ancient origin of this group of people (Ibid.). The known Western historical and Harakmbut mythological records also suggest, further, the relatively stable physical presence of the Harakmbut in the Madre de Dios over time.

Although the Harakmbut are united, at one level of analysis, by a common language and a number of myths, of which most important perhaps is that of their origin (the above mentioned Wanamei myth), each subgroup speaks not only a different dialect of Harakmbut but presents a number of

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variants in its shared corpus of mythology. The variations do not just correspond to each subgroup, but appear again in varied form within each, depending on, among other possible additional variants, clan membership. For this reason, as Gray suggests, at another level there may be nearly as many versions of Harakmbut culture as there are variants in each Harakmbut's place within the social structure (1984).

Of the various Harakmbut subgroups - i.e., Wachipaeri, Amarakaeri, Sapiteri, Arasaeri, Kisambaeri, Toyeri, and Pukirieri - only one, the Amarakaeri, is currently able to reproduce itself as a group. The rest have to establish relationships with other Harakmbut and lowland groups, particularly, Machiguenga and Ese'eja - or other outsiders, notably highlanders, in order to survive. The knowledge of such subgroups reflects these cultural interactions and makes it quite difficult to single out their own prior history and culture (without addressing oneself further and with detailed effort to this problem). Thus, much of what is currently said about the Harakmbut carries a strong Amarakaeri bias. This presents a problem in this discussion to the extent that the social dynamics posed by the strong working existence of seven clans among the Amarakaeri - the Singperi, Idnsikambo, Yaromba, Huandingpana, Masenahua, Embieri, and Sahueron - either may or may not have had a similarly functioning equivalent among the remaining Harakmbut subgroups. For example, those Harakmbut subgroups that have had a greater demographic downfall may not have fellow clan members in other localities, which, among the Amarakaeri, binds people beyond their residential units, among other things. Nonetheless, some have also been absorbed individually into Amarakaeri clans.

The Harakmbut shared a common residential pattern, as far as is known,

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whereby each subgroup occupied a river, geographical, or other feature after which it named itself. Thus, while the Sapiteri were named after the hill Sapite, it is thought that the Wachipaeri were named after the word wachipa, bridge, which they were reportedly experts at building. This same pattern repeated itself within each subgroup, depending on the particular stream, affluent, or other salient point associated with each residential unit. These were made up of malocas (communal dwellings), housing what appear to have largely been clusters of a broad extended family. The number of residents in each maloca, called haktone, ranged between 60 and 100. The maloca had a center corridor which provided an open space for receiving visits and carrying out fiestas and other meetings. While the haktone have been replaced by nuclear houses, hak, the living descendants of the past haktone still frequently make up the various clusters of nuclear houses that can be observed within a village. However, as opposed to in the past, the settlements are along major rivers, where direct exchange with outsiders can develop, rather than in the smaller tributaries which for at least the last 100 years provided shelter from direct contact. Communication then was through overland paths, except when a river needed to be crossed, and a balsa piece of wood or raft was used. Today river transport is frequently used.

Within the maloca lay stall-like divisions for each nuclear family or, sometimes, a single male adult. People slept on bark cloth blankets around the fire and, sometimes, used a log for a pillow. Around each married woman was a cooking hearth, a fire (tak), where the people within the nuclear family and either a woman's or her husband's unattached relatives (whether permanently resident or not), single or widowed men, orphans, and visits congregated at mealtime. Although the unit of consumption within

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each maloca centered around a woman's cooking hearth, the maloca itself - at least in the Amarakaeri case - centered primarily around a particular clan. It is not known whether in the past other male clan members were excluded from the residential unit, but in the recent past it was more a matter of which clan proved - 'demographically' - dominant in each locality or maloca (see Gray 1983).

The marriage pattern fostered the development of alliances between the maloca within each subgroup's territory, particularly through sister exchange. In the case of the Harakmbut, where clan membership is inherited through the male line and clan endogamy strictly forbidden, marriage with cross-cousins remained the ideal. In this manner, neighboring maloca ideally cemented their alliances through the exchange of women. Generally, the closer the 'degree' of contact, the greater the possibilities of the interaction becoming one of generalized reciprocity, as Gray has pointed out (Ibid.: 166). Conversely, the greater the distance - whether social and/or geographic - between the maloca, the greater the chances of developing a relationship of balanced or even negative reciprocity (Ibid.). The fact that all the people in a subgroup who belong to a clan consider themselves as 'family' members, regardless of where they live, tempers the above centrifugal force.

Among the Harakmbut, people at greater distances were generally those whose possibilities of causing harm augmented. Most dangerous were the non-Harakmbut peoples, particularly highlanders and whites. Most Western outsiders are, ironically, called amiko, the Spanish word for friend. Highlanders are called nohaimpi, a word which alludes disparagingly to their use of sandals (Moore, personal communication). The general

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denomination used for those who were Harakmbut, but distanced, was _taka_. To varying extents, partly dependent on the terms under which they arrived, the women who married into a maloca always remained outsiders. They not only belonged to a different (or, if represented within the maloca, minority) clan, but got further away from their own familial support network shortly after marriage (once the husband had fulfilled bride service with his in-laws and could take her back, as he always tried to do, to his own maloca or settlement). Relatives on the mother's side might thus be known for one or two generations, depending on their distance or the degree of contact established with them, but rarely longer. Although women could better their position through various mechanisms, they remained always a potential source of danger.

Men generally outnumber women in the Harakmbut communities today, except in Puerto Luz, where the reverse is true. Hence, many men either marry late, perhaps to a very old or young woman, or never marry at all. In this context, the desired practice of sister exchange (between clans if not between families) is rarely achieved. The man who takes a woman, but cannot reciprocate one, may for this reason end up performing extended bride service for his in-laws. After a couple decides to marry and her family agrees, the groom presents each male member of his wife's clan with an arrow (in a token of alliance) and offers his in-laws the meat of a prolonged hunt he has undertaken (designed to prove his capabilities as a man, 'good hunter'). When a woman is taken without her family's consent, neither the arrows nor the meat are offered, which is a sign of negative exchange. From a female perspective, once her husband has completed his bride service and takes her to his own village with him, she may feel as if she has married his female kin.

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From there on, it is with them she will spend most of her time, and whose approval she must seek and depend upon from a disadvantaged position, in so far as her distance from her own familial support network wrests her leverage.

Women give birth outside the house and generally by themselves. Infanticide can be carried out then by the mother, without anyone's knowledge, by covering the baby's nose and mouth (Moore, personal communication). The more frequent victims were females, twins, very small or deformed babies, and babies born before the last child has been weaned or suspected to be the result of an extra-marital liaison. No cases were reported during my fieldwork. Before the child is weaned, approxmately at the age of two, he or she remains unnamed. When a name is finally given, only those people who are very close will know it. Otherwise, people will be addressed by the appropriate kinship or relationship term.

Naming practices among the Harakmbut are highly significant, although the reasoning underlying this is not entirely clear. Harakmbut men changed their name after undergoing their rites of passage and, sometimes, a severe state of crisis as well. The name itself defined a person's identity and, when known by the wrong persons, could lead to the exercise of harm. A taboo, finally, against uttering the name of a dead person also exists.

Boys and girls are raised in an undifferentiated manner, helping and playing around the house and garden. In more recent times, when available, they may attend a school and perhaps complete their primary education. In

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the past, men underwent two rites of passage which formally marked, first, their initiation into the realm of male concerns and, second, the beginning of their right to establish their own alliances and marry. With these initiation rites, men began to let their hair grow long, punctured their lips and faces for the insertion of bamboo plugs and feathers, and, in ways that varied with each initiation rite, painted their bodies and wore or carried distinct adornments and symbols of 'manhood,' including the instrumentalia for the consumption of coca and tobacco. While these rites are no longer practiced, this is still a period of time when many men try their identity by joining the army, laboring for an outsider, or traveling around, often for up to a couple of years. Girls become recognized as women after childbearing. There are no major subsequent cut-off points in the life cycle of a person. As people grow old, the suffix tone is added to the term used to address them in a sign of respect. Although more knowledgeable in general, some elders may have become the recipients of greater prestige in the course of their lives due to their curing, visionary, leadership, or oratory skills, among others. Under this circumstance, a male will be referred to as wairi or wiiri, a term misunderstood by outsiders to signify 'chief.' Political leadership, distinguished from religious leadership, is ad hoc. Very old people, however, are not closely esteemed or looked after by anyone. Rather, they are frequently abandoned to their luck.

Other than children, the Harakmbut, in general, try not to assume responsibility over dependents. These they treat very warmly. Children are rarely chastised and may often even refuse being given orders. At most, they will be chased with the branch of a nettle plant often grown around the house. After finishing the day's activities and having bathed in

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the river, children and men often relax outside the house before supper time. Grown men may sit side by side talking and when very close, either have their arms around each other or lean against each other in a crouching position, looking into the distance. An older man sometimes leaps up suddenly to the surprise of the children playing, scaring or at least overwhelming one or more of them to the delight of everyone looking on. After dinner, particularly, while still sitting around the fire, and with most family members in some kind of physical proximity, men tell portions of their creation myth, about the Harakmbut folk hero, Amarinke, or other bits of lore, which everyone generally listens to with the outmost interest.

Pubescent girls, and to a lesser extent boys were capable of practicing and killing through witchcraft, which itself was usually learned from the mother. (Both Mario Calefano, 1978, and I received similar accounts in the field, which differ somewhat from Andrew Gray's, 1983, who not only looked at this phenomenon from the perspective of another community but focused his research primarily upon the study of Amarakaeri cultural structures, including the classification of types, possible sources, and cures of witchcraft.) Yet, it was the person who practiced (rather than taught) the witchcraft who, if discovered, was made to confess and then brutally killed. While there are cases of adults practicing witchcraft, their structural relationship to the rest of the group remains unclear (people generally became extraordinarily frightened and uncomfortable when this issue was touched upon). Most people did not admit to the existence of witchcraft within their group, arguing it was really practiced by the next group over. In general, however, it was outsiders, including resident in-marrying women, who were thought to sponsor the witchcraft practices of young, attractive, oddly-behaving pubescent girls,

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causing deaths whose natural cause was not readily evident.

The determination of the causes and sources of harm, in addition to other major decisions potentially affecting the group's social reproduction, was traditionally in the hands of the wayorokeri. These men saw in their 'dreams' (whether asleep or not) where evil proceeded from with the help of both the particular animal spirits associated with their clan and those with which they have developed a special relationship in the course of their lives. Their power was proven when the source of evil had been adequately diagnosed or classified, and curing ensued (cf. Gray 1983). The singing of songs, blowing of tobacco, use of herbs, and ingestion of hayapa (Datura sp.) or ayahuasca could form part of the curing process. Many, men and women, however, developed some curing ability over their lifetimes. Most people payed close attention to their dream life. Dreams were frequently discussed and related to current life conditions. Women, after breakfast, often visited each other for a while and talked about the traditional symbols in their dreams, speculating about their meaning for the present. Life, after death, is in an underground river called Seronwe, where there is no unhappiness. The reverse concept developed by the Christian religion, like that of guilt in a moral sense, remain foreign to the Hārakmbut. For them, the world is essentially a good place. Harm ensues only when one either gets in the way of animals and spirits, or these are manipulated by a person intending another ill. Forest and river animals are the temporary resting places for the souls of the dead, on their way to the Seronwe. Some people know before they die which animal they are going to inhabit temporarily. In that case, those who survive the person will observe a number of taboos around the animal. After a person dies, his or her possessions are burnt, while their name is never again mentioned, lest

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they return and be interrupted on their way to the Seronwe.

In all productive activities traditionally engaged in the major issue was that it not be abused through overuse. Health was considered rooted in the balanced use of natural resources. Hence, when problems arose with outsiders over land, it was not only due to the threat of an absolute reduction of the Harakmbut's territory. The inability of outsiders to understand that the Harakmbut's 'empty' forested areas are in fact an expression of their system of shifting cultivation - and thus lie fallow for certain periods, be considered poor for agricultural use, or remain protected for other reasons - is still constantly used as proof of the Harakmbut's incapacity to 'produce,' hence, illegitimate right over the land they hold.

In everyday life, the Harakmbut rely strongly upon the productive activities of the domestic unit. Women hold responsibility over horticultural tasks at large, although they are frequently helped out by their children and, at times, by their husbands. Men are in this regard primarily in charge of clearing the forest to open a new garden each year, although on occasion also help plant, weed, or harvest. The system of cultivation used is of slash and burn. The periods of fallow allows secondary forest to grow back before a plot is again cultivated. As the main crops planted can be harvested anywhere from three months to five years later, most families have between three and five gardens in different stages of cultivation at any one time. The major instrument used to cultivate is the machete, which replaces the digging stick and stone ax used in the past. Among the crops most relied upon or consumed on a nearly daily basis are manioc, plaintains, sweet bananas, sugar cane,

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papayas, and hot peppers. In addition, several other annual and permanent crops are planted and consumed. Some of these are of recent introduction. They include pineapples, avocados, oranges, limes, lemons, beans, sweet potatos, peanuts, watermelons, and coconuts, among others. Crops cultivated for special usages are cotton, barbasco, tobacco, hayapa, coca, and, in more recent times, ayahuasca. Although intercropping is the rule, a small number of crops may be planted apart; for example, permanent fruit trees providing shade near the house, the poisonous barbasco apart from edible plants, etc. In all, the number of crops cultivated is generally fairly large and the gardens quite heterogeneous. Sometimes, an additional garden may be planted near a favored spot visited on a prolonged basis during the summer each year.

While the products of the garden are largely for domestic consumption, there are exceptions in practice. Not unusually, rather than go alone to their garden, women will invite each other to their respective gardens, principally for manioc, although a few other crops may be taken as well. When women work together on the garden, afterwards they often sit nearby for a rest before starting back home, at which time there is a lot of gossiping and joking about ongoing events in the community principally. Men are often the target of criticism then. In the past, it was common to receive visitors when pineapples and corn were being harvested and large quantities of drink made from these products and sugar cane were distributed to the guests. Such generosity added to a man's prestige. Today, either masato, a manioc beer, or beer are distributed, not unlike in the past. The timing now may correspond with the dry season, when people often pay extended visits to other communities, or within the community, when extre cash is available. Finally, a family at times gave, as it still

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sometimes does, barbasco, a fish poison, to either all or part of the community. A communal fishing expedition is then undertaken. When fishing in this way, the crushed barbasco vines are placed upriver on a net bag. As the water flows through the vines in the bag, it turns whitish and the fish are drawn close to the surface for oxygen, where they are easily caught. Women and children wait for the fish downriver with machetes, bags, and baskets. Men often use their bows and arrows instead. Subsistence activities, although clearly divided along sex lines, are in many instances actually practiced by either sex when the need arises. However, only men are allowed to use bows and arrows, rifles, or hunt. Activities carried out in the forest summon the use of achiote (annatta) to be painted on the face as protection from evil spirits, toto.

Before 'contact,' the Harakmbut did not use salt, prepare masato, or consume ayahuasca. Instead, they drank wawidn, a mild alcoholic beverage made out of maize and sugar cane, or a pineapple or sweet banana beverage, and consumed, as they still do, hayapa, tobacco, and coca. Foods were generally roasted, boiled, or smoked. People ate a meal in the early morning and another at dusk. Yet, while gardens are still kept up to various degrees as are, to an extent, gathering, fishing, and hunting activities, meals are increasingly composed of purchased goods, many of which are prestigious but nutritionally 'empty' carbohydrates. Chickens are now raised, yet they are eaten on rare occasions and are, preferably, kept as a source of emergency cash. The sale of agricultural surpluses is engaged in to different degrees by some Harakmbut, but due to conditions of the market, the venture rarely pays off. Finally, there are men who, running against their own taboos and long-range subsistence requirements, sell their wild resources to outsiders. Overall, fish,

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game, and other wild foods are now a growingly rare delicacy among the Harakmbut. Given the current impact upon Madre de Dios of the world capitalist economy, not only have such resources greatly diminished, but so has the amount of time the Harakmbut now devote to their pursuit.

The Harakmbut dress occidentally today. Men wear either pants or shorts and T-shirts or regular shirts. Although they go barefoot most of the time, they generally possess and wear rubber boots or, on special occasions, shoes and tennis shoes. Most men have a football outfit in very good condition, which includes special running shoes, colored shirts, and numbered T-shirts. An elder once compared the football games younger men engage in to the traditional drinking parties of the past, when men dressed up not only for the event, but different groups came together, also under a controlled state of competition. Women always wear either dresses or skirts. Shorts remain out of the question, as do pants for all but some of the younger and more daring unwed girls. Most women will wear a pair of sandals on a nearly daily basis, while a pair of rubber shoes will be kept for mass attendance or visits to neighboring urban settlements.

All of this lies in contrast to the past when women wore their hair very short and, men wore their's quite long, often tied back in a pony tail. As an Amarakaeri once stated: they run around happily, until the missionaries made them wear underwear and clothing, feel ashamed of what they were, of entering the forest and struting about nude. Men wore only a G-string then, but their bodies were elaborately painted, particularly on special occasions, with wito (a dark purplish-black dye) and achiote (a bright red-orange dye). The designs depended upon the rites of passage already observed. Lip plugs made of bamboo

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were worn on a daily basis, while feathered ones were placed for special events facing sideways, like whiskers. Necklaces of seeds and teeth of jaguars, monkeys, tapirs, or other animals were also used. Feathered head crowns and wings were worn for parties. Women used bark cloth tied around as skirts, sometimes ligatures below their knee, and painted their bodies differently from men. Both carried frequently, as still today, knotless net bags (called wempu by the Amarakaeri and hempu by the Wachipaeri). Knitted by women, they could be put to a wide variety of usages, always proving remarkably sturdy. They could, for example, help carry about 50 lbs. of manioc from the garden back to the house with the tump line swung over the forehead. With the tump line similarly swung on the forehead, women carried their babies on their back in a carved out log about three feet long, called kisipe. To this day one frequently sees women place their babies amidst tender plantain leaves in these carved out logs, tie them up, place a wide loosely woven flat basket-like hat as protection from the weather, and carry them around, when they go about, or place them by their side, as they work or take a rest. Women make a number of different sized and shaped loosely woven baskets used for anything from smoking leftovers on top of the cooking fire to storing feathers or setting aside manioc, peels, and refuge, among other things. Of multiple usage, it is common to see a number of such baskets lying around, particularly near cooking areas. Palm leaf mats are also made often and used to sit on. Women made in the past simple black earthenware for cooking, but few know how to do this any longer, and most use aluminum pots instead. Men make bows and arrows and build their own houses, although they will receive help in putting the structure up. Elder men prepare bamboo tubes where they keep the ashes that activate the coca they

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chew. These ashes, mixed into a paste, are placed in the mouth with a stick that has for this purpose a claw at one end and decorative feathers on the other end. Men may consume this coca alone or in the company of others, as in the past when they sat to deliberate on a problem, sometimes all through the night. Decisions required everyone's agreement

In one interpretation of the Harakmbut creation myth, Wanamei, there existed a time when one had but to utter words for the things that one desired to take place. If someone wanted to move, it was enough to tell the house where, and it alone would change location. When hungry, one asked fish or game to come, and with no need to shoot these with arrows, they fell at one's feet. In the forest, when one wanted manioc and other crops to feed on, one only had to ask for this, and the trees moved aside as a garden began to grow in the space opened.

According to the same interpreter, today a Wachipaeri healer is one who is able to perceive the language of that particular plant through which he will be able to cure. Yet not all people are able to 'hear' or cultivate the language of every plant and, thereby, communicate with it. For this reason, no particular individual can ever solely control the cure to every ailment. Much the same can be said about animal spirits, specially among the Amarakaeri.

Visits, conflicts, fears, among other moments of social existence that can arise in the course of everyday life also had a special language, or way of coming together and being expressed, through songs. The chanting of curing songs and, in feasts, songs of arrival, before drinking, and after drinking, were common to all and permitted the expression of both

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standardized words and meanings in addition to highly specific current personal concerns (see Lyon 1967). People not only learnt then of affairs, jealousies, and grievances, among other feelings that could have arisen in the course of everyday life, but acted upon them subsequently by either fighting ritually, until tired, or in the worst and most irremediable situations, moving away or fissioning from the group.

Among the Harakmbut, the power of having a language, that is, knowing the words by which to deal with phenomena which arise in everyday life, is so important, that at times it seems to antecede or replace the need for all else. The capacity to name in a given way could bring about simultaneously the capacity to place - hence, deal - with given events in the existing world. Not quite magic power, but close to it, given the tight relationship that could exist between intent and result, the Harakmbut lost this capacity in relationship to their broader environment in both the mythical and historical pasts, when their lifes were overrun by the rubber and gold booms in Madre de Dios. With this loss of power, their world began to collapse. Not only did they not know how to react, past a certain point, in relation to these events, but after a while took it all out internally, threatening their own social reproduction. Currently, parties no longer exist with traditional singing, dancing, and fighting. Today, the preferred alcoholic beverage is beer. When too much of it is consumed, the fights that break out are bitter, chaotic, and often generalized, with everyone against each other. Only at times will they follow traditional kinship lines. The music and dancing are most often to the fast and lively rhythm of Colombian and Peruvian cumbias (tropical music). But, late into the night, as the records or cassettes are being changed, one may hear the remaining elders breaking into an old Harakmbut song.

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There is amusement at this, but rarely enough to postpone starting the next cumbia.

Like many lowland groups in the Amazon, the Harakmbut congregated about missionaries in the end to seek protection and find a way to address their changed environment. People in the Amazon frequently gather about 'missionaries,' as the Harakmbut did, for the sake of 'education,' in this double sense of effective action emerging from knowledge. As a final effort to regain the power of 'language' perhaps, this takes place in a context where no longer can the world be appropriated through the knowledge or internal management of surrounding resources. Power now lies afar and requires, for this reason, accessory loops of connection. If there ever was - or could be - a time when having a way to address life conditions could remain a sufficient and enough cause to effectively transform life, this outlook is a recurrently distinct aspect of tribal groups (cg. Rigby 1981), More than to the ability to ever know it all, it may refer to and be a product of the unalienated practice - hence knowledge of correspondence between intent and result - people generate in the course of their social reproduction, particularly when living in the margins of the world economy.

Although the Harakmbut had been notorious over time for their resistance to outsiders, this began to change toward the middle of the twentieth century. Before then, the Harakmbut had successfully resisted being incorporated into a larger social order, through either withdrawal to more marginal river areas or direct and violent resistance, both at the time of the Inca, when they were known as chunchos, and from the nineteenth century on, when they began to be called by the pejorative term, Mashco. When the

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Harakmbut were finally incorporated into the Peruvian nation-state, it was through a profoundly alienating and violent process.

One example is when sugar cane haciendas developed in the Wachipaeri's territory in the 1940s. Not only did a smallpox epidemic reduce their population from 500 to 75 (Lyon, personal communication), but those who survived were recruited as sources of labor amidst enormous violence. When labor was needed, estate owners sent Piro natives to attack and raid the Wachipaeri for slaves. Rather than endure violent conditions of work, when the Wachipaeri wanted Western goods they began to steal them and forcefully take them from their owners, killing if necessary. When caught, the state owners in turn had them killed, their heads severed and placed on a pole, hung from a tree, or dried, to forewarn the living Wachipaeri. On moonlit night, the Wachipaeri came back, took the bodies, and buried them. While very few haciendas were directly responsible for the near extinction of the Wachipaeri, life for the Harakmbut elsewhere was not safe either.

Although in addition to the Dominicans, a Baptist mission, Mid-Missions, approached the Wachipaeri, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics went to work among an Amarakeri group, both in the decade of the '50s, neither had a very ambitious social project. All three, however, did share a common interest in the dissolution of ritual group activity among the Harakmbut. It could be argued that with this they struck a death blow to the major traditional source of power for the Harakmbut. Distances between and within groups grew, as various points of contention brewed in the absence of viable internal outlets. Gossip and witchcraft accusations increased along with other indirect expression of internal turmoil. The social 'means' for addressing the larger world had been wrenched

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from the Harakmbut. Current reality offered no language or way of dealing with it.

The present work thus is an effort to unravel dialectically the generative forces that intervened in the Dominicans' 'civilization' of the Harakmbut. It is about the loss of power that began to take place when the present world could no longer be related to anything known, and the ability to solve problems began to elude the Harakmbut.

Missions as A Social Phenomenon

Though religions may be approached, as they indeed have, in a number of ways, it is preferable not to lose sight at the outset of their key defining features. A standard definition to which few are likely to object, introduces quite accurately three principal issues in the study of missions:

> The sending of representatives of a deity for the purpose of conveying a message or carrying out a task. In a larger sense, activities of a religious community dedicated to the propagation of its faith in other communities (Mendenhall 1962: 404).

Religious missions constitute a particular type of social phenomenon, the characteristics of which initially pose the following arenas for study, the: (1) context of emergence of the representatives of a deity; (2) referent of the message in the task or faith being propagated; and (3) distinctions between the different communities of people involved, i. e., what makes them essentially divergent in those contexts in which proselytizing develops.

These issues assume further dimensions when applied to missionary

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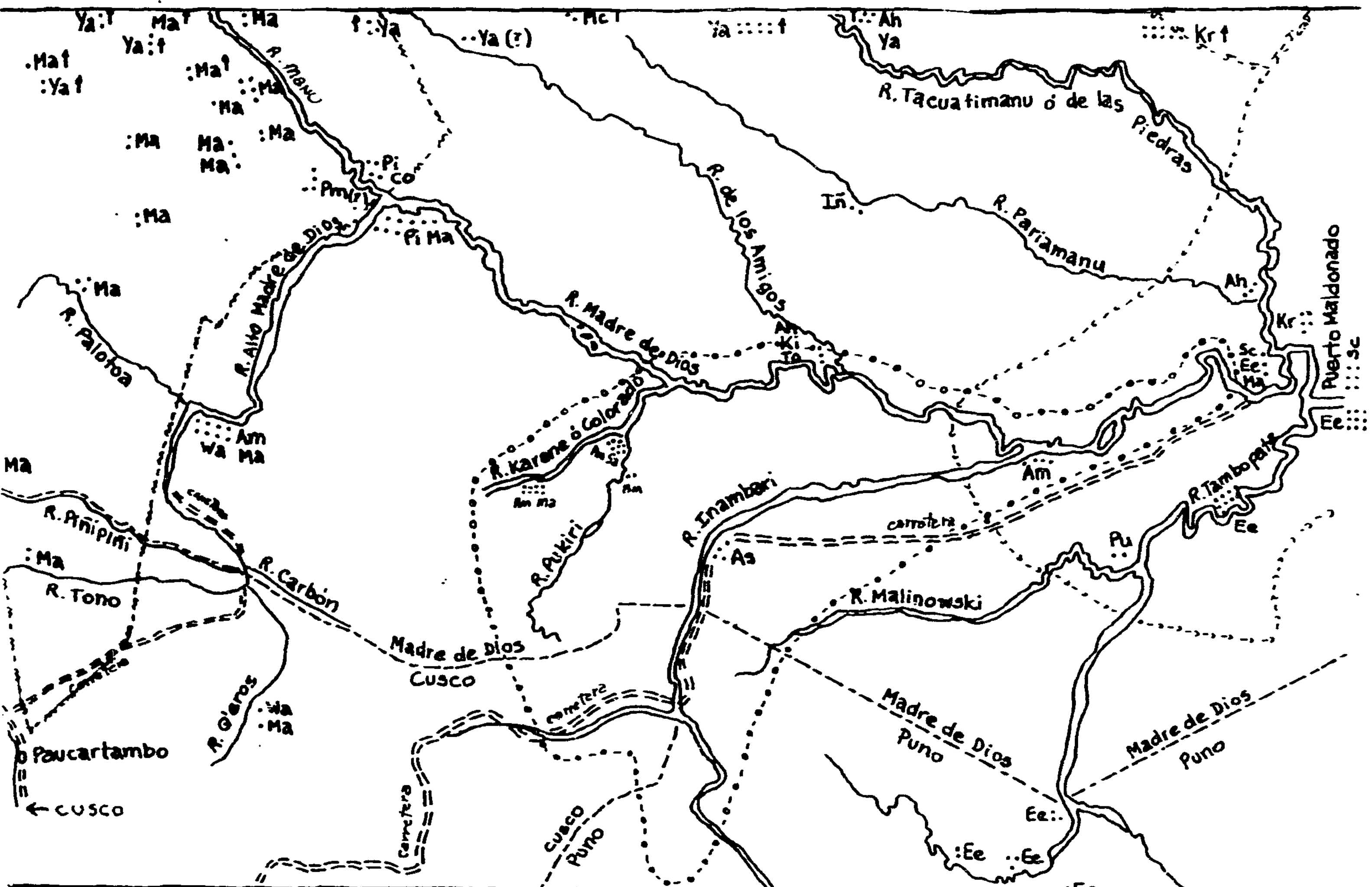

Map 1.

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work among people inhabiting the social or geographical fringes of particular modes of production. Beckett, after pointing out that the heathen may include "Christians who have become separated from the main body ... [e.g.,] the urban poor," indicated on the basis of his experience among 'native' peoples in the South Seas that missions in such contexts constitute:

> ... a specialized agency of church or sect having the task of attracting, instructing, and directing people who are ineligible for immediate membership of the parent body. In most cases membership is at least the longterm objective. But in the meantime the people, however equal within the love of God, are deemed not equal within the sight of God. This kind of charter allows the mission to organize itself along lines quite different from those of the parent body, creating roles and offices that have no currency in the outside world.
>
> The inequality is due not simply to the people's ignorance of Christianity but also to their ignorance of [Western] civilized living and their lack of the economical and technical means of sustaining it. In the frontier institutions, which are their typical milieu, missionaries find themselves undertaking uplift as well as religious work. They may themselves distinguish sacred from secular duties, but the people are not likely to do so. Thus the mission's influence becomes all pervasive and, in the power vacuum which develops at the village level as a result of pacification, considerable. Petty theocracies are frequent ... and one may argue a tendency toward 'totalitarianism' in missions which is lacking or much less pronounced in the parent bodies ... let me add that mission regimes may be a welcome alternative to social and physical breakdown (1978: 210).

It is worth stressing in such contexts, then, the roles that may be played by missionaries in structuring the interaction of 'traditional' peoples within a wider society. In this sense, the frontiers mentioned may be considered to be as much social as geographic.

The transition from mission to Church or 'parent body' implies, consequently, more than just religious acquisition or inequality. The instilled comportment necessitates a given context for its realization (Ibid.: 222). Furthermore, the consciousness of this point by those being evangelized suggests that: (a) missionaries themselves may not always or

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primarily be viewed as religious agents; and (b) their presence may often be regarded positively, despite the totalitarianism mentioned as often involved, when considered in relation to additional, secular pressures for change. The two final problems of study that will be considered are the important, if not exclusive, secular functions of religious missions and their social impact in the context of surrounding secular forces.

Over time, religious missions have accompanied various political and economic developments in different parts of the world. While some people have remained largely unaffected by their presence, others have been deeply transformed. Despite numerous historical and ethnographic accounts of mission work in existence, however, their diffusion and social impact are still not well understood.

In this regard, perhaps the major challenge posed to an anthropologist is the possibility of understanding the subtlety with which a religious mission instills determined courses of action in a given group of people. Missions generate social change not only by way of external and more or less concrete, if not necessarily highly visible, mechanisms. They may also work 'internally,' altering the way people thereafter position themselves within a given social order.

Some scholars consider that a given set of socio-economic conditions must exist as a prerequisite for religious diffusion (for example, Horton 1975; Salamone 1980, 1976; among others), while others contend that ideational meaning be present first (for example, Geertz 1968, 1965; Marzal 1983; and others). Consequently, for many, the issue at the core of the anthopological study of missions is whether people ultimately accept those religions that correspond to what is actually lived or, rather,

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to what is believed.

Closer scrùtiny reveals, however, that such materialist and ideational preconditions are not necessarily everywhere as juxtaposed as is often thought (see, for example, Muratorio 1982 or Rigby 1981). The major problems in the anthropological study of missions appear to stem from the tendency to segment, and thereby only partially focus upon, the integral character of the various sets of relations that underpin the development of proselytizing activities. Cultural structures must find their counterpart in social practices that may, in turn, alter both the order and referents of these structures.

Responses to proselytizing efforts are related to hegemonic processes whereby particular ideologies and practices are introduced that affect the social nature of the incorporation into wider spheres of social production and reproduction. They cannot, however, be reduced to or explained in these terms alone. A given group's internal reproduction processes are recurrently observed to either set a barrier or play a fundamental part in numerous ways as well. This places at stake issues that parallel discussions in the sociology of ideology and religion by focusing on the interrelations of cultural ideology and practice in different historical contexts as the key problem. A clearer understanding of these issues would lead to a better omprehension of the different sets of responses that may arise before missionary endeavors.

How particualr missionary efforts and the responses they set off are related remains in need of explanation. In this dissertation I aim to focus upon the social meaning of religious missions by developing a number of methodological propositions which may help explain the dialectical inter-

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action of the ideational and materialist determinants in their diffusion and social impact. The theoretical approach developed will be used to analyze the impact upon the Harakmbut peoples of the Dominican missions in Madre de Dios, lowland southeastern Peru, throughout the twentieth century.

Methodological Approach

This study will primarily be committed to analyzing the field of forces that intervenes in the development of the missionary endeavor. A critical inquiry will be made into the manner in which anthropologists have addressed the five issues outlined above and, ultimately, their interrelationships and locus of power. The main areas of concern shall be, the: (1) emergence of the representatives of a deity; (2) referent of the message in the religious task or faith; (3) inequalities of the distinct communities of people involved; (4) secular means of proselytizing employed to incorporate those being evangelized into the wider society; and (5) varying outcome of religious missions as related to the larger political economic context of social exchanges.

While the reciprocal action of these elements under differing conditions or modes of social existence will be progressively unraveled, the primary objective will be to explicate their interrelated impact upon some of the Harakmbut's most fundamental processes of social production and, particularly, reproduction. The "organization of production and the nature of liens upon it" not only implies a "theoretical commitment to the priority of certain aspects of culture (in the holistic sense)" (Silverman 1979: 65), but, as will be argued in the course of this work, underlies the hidden agenda in

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the battle of 'ideas' between the Harakmbut and the Dominicans.

Although this study is concerned with a concrete historical problem (that of the Dominicans in southeastern Peru), I will analyze theoretically (through alternate chapters) the relations that underlie the development of proselytizing activities. Upon the development of a common language or frame of analysis for the different-level elements involved, it will be possible to explicate the historical interaction of the different types of relations that intervene in the development of proselytizing activities and varying forms of local response.

Rather than cast the major categories of social causation into mutually exclusive frames of analysis, I will attempt to present the ascendancy of any one level of social phenomenon over others at precise moments by regarding the shifts in the locus of power. Considered as important as the religious message diffused will be by whom it is being upheld in a wider field of forces.

Sources of Information Used

This research is based on eight months of fieldwork in Madre de Dios and sixteen months of bibliographic work, principally in the cities of Cusco and Lima, between 1982 and 1983. While it emphasizes the historical development of the evangelical process, this division of work is also in large part a product of the content given to the principle of holism in the anthropological endeavor. In that light, it became of essence that not only mission and non-mission life among the Harakmbut be experienced and the historical accounts of the Dominicans in the area of study be read

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into, but that one inquire into the context or political economic framework which both nurtured and handicapped the developments that took place.

In the field, five months were spent in the mission station of Shintuya, in the Alto Madre de Dios river, and three months in three additional Harakmbut communities away from mission influence. I participated in the everyday activities of a reduced number of families in addition to all 'community' affairs that came up, conducted in-depth interviews on specific topics with a varied group of people, learned the essentials of the Harakmbut language, and, in Shintuya, applied a small 'questionnaire' to help sort out general kinship, clan, and regional relationships over an individual's lifetime. The three Harakmbut communities away from mission influence visited were Huacaria and Q'eros, in the Q'osñipata valley of Cusco, and Boca de Inambari, in the confluence of the Inambari and Madre de Dios rivers. The first two communities are primarily Wachipaeri, although they include some Machiguenga. Boca de Inambari and Shintuya are predominantly Amarakaeri, although both include Wachipaeri.

Non-Harakmbut peoples such as colonists, merchants, missionaries, bureaucrats, miners, and muleteers, who had either worked or continued to work in these areas, were interviewed. I also searched for information in those places where a number of these entrances to the area originated: (1) Sicuani (in the highland province of Canchis in Cusco) and Puno, where nearly all of the temporary migrants who work in Madre de Dios are recruited; (2) Yarinacocha (in the central jungle), where the Summer Institute of Linguistics is based; and (3) Paucartambo (Cusco), the historical starting point of most travels to the Alto Madre de Dios region.

While the libraries I consulted did not always prove valuable to my

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research, there were very useful materials in some. In Cusco I searched for relevant information at the University of San Antonio Abad del Cusco, the Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, the Archivo Histórico, the Archivo Arzobispal, and the Public Registrar's Office (Registros Públicos). In Lima I worked in the Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, the Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (CAAAP), the Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica (CIPA), Copal, the Instituto Riva Agüero, the Biblioteca Nacional, the Archivo Arzobispal, and the Convent of Santa Rosa de Lima (where access was only allowed to those published materials still in print).

The first two libraries in Lima were especially useful. The Sociedad Geográfica de Lima includes important nineteenth and twentieth century (and sometimes even earlier) documents, journals, travellers' accounts, and maps, among other special collections. The CAAAP library provided generous access to its various valuable bibliographic sources and, particularly, to Misiones Dominicas, the Dominicans' own journal which, continuing under a different name to this day, includes writings which date to their first appearance in Madre de Dios at the beginning of the century. Outside of Lima and Cusco, I visited the Convent of Santa Rosa de Ocopa (near Huancayo, in the central highlands) and the Biblioteca Municipal of La Paz (Bolivia), both of which contain information on the Franciscans who worked at different times in the periphery of the Harakmbut's territory.

Archival research on an Amazonian topic is especially difficult to accomplish when, as in the case of Madre de Dios, neither sustained nor systematic contact with the area took place until the turn of the century. Furthermore, as in any historical inquiry about an indigenous group who does

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not produce its own written chronicles, the results may run the risk of remaining incomplete. In addition, both place names and the name of each native group will frequently be misused or changed in such accounts in confusing ways. Given, finally, the frontier nature of the Amazon region, not only a number of areas and people remained peripheral to those specific economic concerns leading outsiders to the area. The latter themselves often withheld a detailed description of the true nature of their activities and transactions in these places. This could add to the fragmentary character of the resulting accounts. Political economic data such as export or erase production figures, costs of production, and labor conditions, among others, could, thus, not be found in any one bilbiographic reference and were partially arrived at only after having confronted a rather large number of sources.

The research process itself posed certain methodological problems. The attempt to carry out an integral approach implied not only looking far and wide for very different types of information but, correspondingly, keeping close surveillance over the proposed parameters of inquiry. While a guideline was set by the theoretical understanding of the issues involved in the study of missions, in practice it was the movement back and forth between these issues and the data found, that set the boundaries of the task at hand. Each aspect taken into account was considered important less for its intrinsic attributes than for its relational qualities. The research process thus became problem- and context-specific, while the data gathered was continually gauged from this perspective.

That information was considered relevant only to the extent that it helped clarify the issues at hand, led to a paradox that may be inherent to any effort to remain 'holistic' in a given study. In so far as 'in-

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formation' has ceased to be perceived as valid in its own terms, one may indeed end up understanding concrete human and theoretical concerns, while one's in-depth presentation of any one specific arena remain partial. Thus, while this study is concerned with the historical development of the Dominican missions among the Harakmbut, it does not include a comple study of the Harakmbut, Dominicans or surrounding political economy per se. Information was gathered which could contribute to this endeavor. Yet the additional scope of the discussion this would call for entails, if not the writing of one or more dissertations, at least a series of more specialized articles on the various topics and problems that the data collected to this point are capable of provoking. It is thus with wariness that I present the results of my work.

The uneven chapters of this dissertation are theoretical and based on the bibliographic references cited in each. The even chapters are historical and, except where noted, largely founded upon the following sources: (1) Anales de la Obra de la Propagación de la Fé en el Oriente del Perú, 1898-1934 (chapter 4); (2) Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1890-to the present (chapter 8); (3) Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia, 1906-1907 (chapter 2); (4) Junta de Vías Fluviales, 1902-1907 (chapter 8); (5) Lyon n.d.a, b (chapter 2); (6) Misiones Dominicas del Perú, 1919-1977 and Antisuyo n.d.a, b, c, d, e, f (Chapters 1, 6, and 10); (7) my own field-work (chapters 1, 8, and 10); and (9) Werlich 1968 (chapters 2 and 4).

The Development of Religious Missions

While the changes that accompany the missionary endeavor may indeed affect different spheres of praxis - i.e., social, economic, and political - what defines the impact of a proselytizing effort is not the cumulative

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outcome of transformations in these areas. These become significant in so far as they conjoin in altering the locus of power in ideological practice. This process may in turn be said to stand in dialectical relationship to those transformations in social production and distribution which proceed, in either isolated or combined form, by way of economic, political, and social praxis. Yet, for initial descriptive purposes, one may observe how it may be manifested in each sphere separately.

Both the practice and ideology of social cooperation - i.e., who comes together in the effort to make a living - must be examined contextually to determine the impact of proselytizing in the social realm. Although one may not continuities in culture, this may prove deceptive in understanding where power is located. Apparent 'survivals' can in fact change their content or function, while new sets of relationships leave traditional structures unaltered. Neither can illustrate alone, then, or out of context, where the cocus of power comes to rest. Thus, both Shapiro and Fins note that the persistence of headmen in two different areas of the Amazon basin is associated with the development of a new type of elite once access to primarily external sources of support is gained (1972; 1984). Conversely, anthropologists working in lowland and highland Ecuador observe that traditional Quichua and Achuar structures of exchange and cooperation have in significant ways been reinforced by the presence of missionaries, whose technical mastery is increasingly being appropriated in an effort to eventually bypass them altogether (Muratorio 1982; Taylor 1981; Whitten 1976). An inventory of changes per se in the social realm could become both endless and fruitless, then, lest one focus the issue further.

One may argue the primary significance, in this sense, of the dis-

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tinctions that come to be drawn between persons in the process of social cooperation. These not only unite some individuals' fates, in contradistinction to that of others, but give social meaning and content to the concepts regarding the nature of man fostered through missionary endeavor. This establishes a counterpoint between the introduced supernatural conception of the nature of man and its associated guidelines for praxis, on the one hand, and the social nature of man on-the-ground, or of those individuals who align their fates in a common path of social reproduction, on the other. This interplay helps explain both the impact of the mission in the social sphere and the key significance of the part played by the definition of social identity ultimately established.

In other words, the prohibition of specific modes of cooperation, expressed through particular kinship, residence, work, community, or class alignments, may in turn be altered by the working existence of these very units. The defense of those relationships resorted to in the process of social reproduction will, as a result, only work to the extent that they can in fact synthesize, ideologically or materially, key aspects of that reproduction. The interplay of dominant and subordinate ideologies and practices must thus be studied in terms of their reciprocal action within specific historical contexts of economic and political power relations (Muratorio 1982).

It has been observed by various scholars that missions thrive in a context of changing relations of production, but that this alone does not contribute to explain the different types of responses on the part of those being proselytized. While missionaries are rarely, if ever, directly responsible for wider changes in the economic

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conditions of existence among the people with whom they work, they do introduce ideological practices designed to provide means by which to handle these changed conditions. Metaphorically synthesized in the super-natural conceptions regarding the essence of nature, their counterpart on-the-ground is expressed rather through new sets of economic relationships. Not only can the resources, technology, and other means of production resorted to thereby change, but also the organization and nature of work, including the distribution and exchange of its fruits.

As opposed to making an attempt to put together an inventory of economic hanges, the effort to delimit the strategic significance of possible transformations is a by far more fruitful endeavor. That is, one may note continuities in the management of economic practices and economic factors, and yet miss the increasing dependency that flows from changed conditions of existence. Under certain conditions of existence, economic changes may ensue which do not necessarily wrest control over one's economy, in some cases possibly even increasing it, while under other contexts, the conservation of economic practices may, rather, begin to foster dependency (Dalle 1983; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Platt 1983; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Salazar 1977; Taylor 1981). It is fundamental for account to be taken of the specific contexts under which given economic changes take place. A means must also be developed for systematically addressing the dialectical interplay of changed conditions and possible alternate responses to these.

At stake is not just the distribution of economic power at set times and places, but the social mechanisms available for actively, rather than passively, confronting its foundations. These two phases of the issue do not develop an altogether autonomous existence in actual fact. Yet, the

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dialectical tension established between them approximates reality more than either alone. The problem posed here may be said to resemble the object of study in the discussions concerning the articulation of different modes of production, inasmuch as not only do the specific demands on land, labor, or capital developed by a dominant mode of production become subject to analysis, but also the social capacity of subordinate modes to elude these demands either by way of control of remnant economic conditions of existence or the use made of other possible contradictions in the dominant mode (Bradby 1975; Foster-Carter 1978; Meillassoux 1975; O'Laughlin 1977; Rey 1973). It is thus not rare to find scholars observing that, for example, individualism cannot be instilled where private property is not significantly developed or that those being proselytized may, at times, set off dominant groups' interests against each other to their own advantage (Muratorio 1982; Nason 1978).

Closer analysis is required, then, both of economic production and exchange and of the relations which may set these off in varying directions at specific times and places. Much more than economic power is entailed, in so far as man's relation to nature is never natural but mediated by both knowledge and relations to other men. Pure technological rationality in these contexts is thus sheer mystification (Mandel 1978).

The conceptions regarding the supernatural nature of man's relation to other men crystallize, on the one hand, the relationships posited as politically desirable in a given society. On the other, they depict the locus of power through its metaphor - and one could add euphemization - of where 'God' lies and how access to 'Him' (her/it) is gained (see, for related points, Bourdieu 1979; Hirst 1976; Underhill 1975). As an example of the first, one

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may include those 'moral relationships' that can be sanctioned by quite mundane gifts of grace, approval, or relics (Gerth and Mills 1946). A Church may become a "corporation which organizes grace and administers religious gifts of grace, like an endowed foundation" (Ibid.: 305-6). This is an observation, in this instance, not far removed from what a mission also sets out to accomplish. The reification of the political model is expressed in the supernatural definition of where ultimate power is considered to rest. Yet, what the social impact of these relations will be in practice is rarely, if ever, understood. Hence, identity of terms, or overt verbal acceptance of the introduced models, does not necessarily imply an identity of concepts, or ways of understanding them (Gramsci 1975).

Anthropologists and missionaries often prefer to use concrete behavior instead as a guideline of where power is deemed to rest. Other reasons for this choice may range from the possible lack of personal involvement with a new set of beliefs among converts, or the combination of introduced beliefs with more traditional ones, to the inherent difficulty of perceiving changes of such nature. But more important by far is the fact that this issue expresses itself, rather than in a set manner, as a type of barometer of 'who is able to do what and when,' and thereby remains subject to changes not only in the actual distribution of power but, in the presence of alternate conceptions about and relationships for setting such power into motion.

Ideological practice remains always political at its base. It is what Marx meant when he said that man makes his own history, although in conditions not of his own making (Merrill 1979). The implementation of a hegemonic process, if not necessarily accepted in *toto*, may generate nonetheless enough distortion to sidetrack or neutralize alternate responses at given

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moments (Berg 1985; Bourdieu 1979; Mouzellis 1978; Sallach 1974). At the same time, different ideological reconstructions may also take place in traditional belief systems themselves (Carrasco and Broda 1978; Duviols 1976; Rowe 1976; Szeminski and Ansión 1982; Worsley 1968).

That such alternate conceptions regarding the nature of power do not merely exist in abstract, but are periodically confronted by actual economic and social conditions of existence is a recurrent check on conceptual change. Yet hegemonic ideologies would also not exist if they did not constitute at times a parsimonious means of control of key conditions of existence, which in a way is in the essence of cultural ideologies in general. Often, when this gap, or lack of correspondence between a conceptual model of reality and actual reality is exposed, a way is opened, given certain other prerequisites, to engage socially the actual economic and social conditions of existence.

It is useful to first separate the diffusion from the impact of a new faith or variant thereof (a point also made by Korn 1978). Hegemonic ideologies may put forth particular interests as universal. This may well reflect dominant political processes. These processes, however, can also be confronted on a daily basis by alternate economic and social means that can defy that 'reality,' particularly once this potential comes into existence through ideological practice. There, in fact, may lie the difference between hegemonic, reified ideologies and quotidian, live idea-systems. That the latter may be of a traditional nature is of less importance than the extent to which they may prove responsive to changed conditions, a process which is referred to by Platt as the transformational continuity ideas may have (1983; see also Nash 1979).

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Interpretations of Religious Diffusion

While the same set of symbols may assume either the part of reified ideology or consciousness, the interrelations of message and response are not yet fully explained. This issue has been addressed by varying scholars likewise trying to determine the social impact of missions. These endeavors may be synthesized within five major types of interpretation, according to what is considered critical in each: (1) instrumental; (2) catalyst; (3) culturalist; (4) social structural; and (5) political economic. These are not all mutually exclusive interpretations. They differ, above all, in their degree of complexity or ability to incorporate the set of relations that intervene critically in the development of proselytizing efforts.

The instrumental view of religion considers missions to be accepted to the extent that they may prove functional (Beidelman 1982; Counts 1978; Salamone 1980, 1976). Missionaries will thus be endured, under this interpretation, for as long as they help foster a given group's ethnic, political, economic, educational, technological, or health interests, among other practical concerns. However, not only is the conversion process reduced in this view to a matter of free choices, with little regard for the surrounding destabilizing forces which may intervene in the election of the presence of the missionary. Account is not given as to why missions may often be rejected despite the goods and services that may be offered.

This interpretation proves somewhat simplistic and deterministic, though its very authors often include in their data a series of more complex

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connections. External forces are held responsible for the outcome of missionary activity, which if true would imply not only a shallow impact, but an entirely fragile one, wholly dependent on outside sources of support. Furthermore, it leaves totally unclear the extent to which the dynamics of a group's internal reproduction processes may intervene in the responses given to the missionary endeavor.

A second type of interpretation tries to further pin down those circumstances under which given groups are bound to accept a missionary enterprise, which is then assigned a catalyst role. It considers that the changes introduced through a mission would in all likelihood have occurred almost regardless of its presence (Coppens 1971; Horton 1975; Van Binsbergen 1977). Those who subscribe to this position not only refer in general to changes as 'already in the air anyway,' but may try to specify what these consist of. Horton, for instance, relates the acceptance of a supreme deity to the degree and nature of involvement with an outside world. Hence, the further removed the sources of power and interaction, the greater the image of omnipotence attributed to a given deity (1975; see also Taylor 1981). Van Binsbergen, in turn, views this acceptance as closely related to factors of demographic density that broaden the nature of everyday social interaction and communication (1977).

This type of interpretation tends to make somewhat more explicit those contexts under which religious developments such as missions may prove acceptable. Yet it also falls short when it comes to accounting for the parts played by both missionaries and those being evangelized in the outcome of a religious development. Though the perspective assumed is much too broad, material exchanges and conditions are aptly identified and

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considered in structural terms. However, the process is implicitly presented as a natural and smooth sequel of given global conditions, where it normally is not (for a similar critique, see Asad 1980).

A third type of hypothesis emphasizes culture and, in particular, ideological structures of communication. This is the explanation most frequently resorted to, as already mentioned, when competitive conversion is at stake and a need arises to understand why one religious group is chosen over another or changes proceed more rapidly than one would expect (Miller 1975; Schieffelin 1981). It also becomes a working hypothesis among those missionaries who emphasize anthropological and linguistic training as a prerequisite in their work (Kietzman 1958; Loewen 1968; Powlison 1975; Rosenstiel 1959). Finally, it is used to analyze religious syncretism as an expression of the introduced religion by way of traditional cultural categories (Marzal 1977; Wonderly and Nida 1963).

Two of the most interesting proponents of this view, Schieffelin (1981) and Miller (n.d., 1975), consider at the same time the perhaps unanticipated social consequences introduced by way of cultural correspondences. Schieffelin proposes that - despite the presence of historical factors which may have facilitated changes and the presence of alternate missionary groups that failed - the remarkably rapid rate of evangelical conversion among the Kaluli of Papua, New Guinea, was a product above all of the correspondences that existed in the ways the religious message was conveyed and traditional social interaction was ordered. In both, underlying formal structures of social reciprocity prevailed. He notes, however, that in the process:

> Papuan evangelical pastors unwittingly reoriented the deployment of reciprocity in the presentation of the evangelical message.

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> ... As a result Kaluli understanding of moral relationships was reframed and a host of further symbolic and cultural changes were brought about very quickly. ...
>
> The fundamental direction of moral reciprocity was moved from the horizontal plane between people to the vertical between man and God, mediated by pastor and the church organization (Ibid.: 151, 155).

Cultural content is considered less important than cultural structure in this context. Rhetoric is viewed rather as:

> ... the vehicle by which the message is rendered into a social construction upon reality. The function of rhetoric is that it enables to encompass a situation and imply an appropriate social attitude, motivation, and source of action to be taken (Ibid.: 156).

The social message introduced through the mission, consequently, is considered to require a strong measure of formal correspondence with internal structural ideologies if it is to be effective.

Miller similarly notes that Catholic power symbols were unintelligible to the Tòba, whereas Pentecostal ones were found meaningful and, as such, acceptable (1975). The turmoil encountered by the Toba in secular spheres of life opened their mind to such changes, but did not determine them in this case either, in so far as other religious groups had failed in the same circumstances (a critique of Miller's initial formulations of this problem may be found in Cordeu and Siffredi 1971). Direct appropriation of Pentecostal religious symbols is noted by Miller to have filled in for crucial gaps in the traditional conceptual map or cosmology which failed once disrupted by secular transformations. Yet he also shows how this structural bridge was not only ambiguous in its content, but actually introduced elements that helped deal with the new conditions of living while subverting any possibility of developing a defiant response. Thus,

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the introduced divorce of sacred and secular aspects of life (as observed by Tawney 1960) effectively set the locus of power relations and exploitation outside the domain of ritual group activity. At the same time, the one-to-one relationship with religious power beings that developed alongside paralleled the types of relationships established with patrones (n.d.). Miller found, then, that Pentecostal practices in fact helped foster the 'unbridled path' of Toba alienation (similar results were observed in other contexts by Willems 1967).

The third type of approach thus focuses upon the primary importance of being able to introduce the missionary endeavor through indigenous cultural structures which may render the new religion meaningful in both ideational and cultural terms. It puts in second place, when at all, the parallel set of changes that may enhance the efforts of the carriers of this endeavor. Though acknowledged to exist, this second type of variable and the former cultural ones are presented as possessed of independent lives, with little reciprocal bearing, if any, the one on the other. This, however, does not deny the substantial importance that the access to ameliorative symbols, illusory or not, may initially have, per se, in the process of conversion.

The fourth type of interpretation focuses on the interplay of cultural and social modes of exchanges. It sets acceptance of religious practices in the context of social modes of interaction. Thus, the reciprocal action of religious structure and social form is considered to govern the meanings introduced through missionary endeavor. It is observed, on a first level of analysis, that religious organization is often superimposed on previous patterns of social organization, even where deployment of the fruits of

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exchange may have assumed new directionality (Diener 1978; Orellana 1975; Pereira de Queiroz 1969). Sometimes the patterns of organization found are responses that have emeged before changed conditions of existence (Salazar 1977; Taylor 1981). Shrines, furthermore, are often found to mark the spatial intersecions of such social and religious concerns (Christian 1972; Clendinnen 1980; Gross 1971; Sherbondy 1982).

At a second level, more than just use of prior organizational modes has also been noted to take place. It has been suggested that a structural relationship may exist between the way human exchanges are ordered and religions denote the interaction of spiritual forces with man (Berdan 1978; Christian 1972; Godelier 1974; Swanson 1975, 1967, 1966). Christian thus notes that:

> ... understanding the type of relationships existing among humans, one can begin to understand the relationships of those humans to holy figures. ...
>
> The human modes of exchange with divine figures (and ultimately, with God) parallel their modes of exchange with each other (Ibid.: vii, xiii).

Swanson tries in turn to pin down the circumstances under which the notion of a supreme deity are bound to emerge by developing a similar approach that draws on comparisons derived from cross-cultural correlations. He suggests that the control and implementation of invisible conditions of existence - that is, of concrete although covert historical and economic forces - by specific groups under a central government is what best explains the acceptance of beliefs in supreme and omnipotent beings. He points out that "the characteristics of spirits suggest that we identify them with specific groups which persist over time and have distinctive purposes" (1966: 20). That is, high gods "prove to be active in societies

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that have specific groups which complement the purposes and programs of a central government" (1967: 23). Underhill, in a critique of Swanson, focuses instead upon the significance that the economic complexity of a population may have above and beyond the nature of its political organization (1975).

Yet the correspondences between supernatural and social exchange put forth by Swanson do not just occur in an all-around manner but are, rather, focused upon the principal cross-roads of existing though invisible conditions of existence:

> Like relations in supernature, the relations within and between the primordial and constitutional structures are largely invisible and their effects are accomplished through the directives and limitations they set out for the conceptions of people who interact.
>
> The influence of the structures upon participants in interaction is also like the supernatural in possessing powers not given to men. Their influence operates at all times. Without the application of any obvious or perceptible means, these structures embody a wider 'knowledge' than any individual or group possesses in the sense that they contain more conditions and potentialities than those of which pople are aware at any given time. The accomplishment of their purposes is inevitable as long as they are stable, for the only contingency required for that accomplishment is the presence of normal, well-socialized humans who are committed to the relationships which these structures undergird. They, cannot, of course, be avoided or escaped by such humans (1966: 27-8).

Thus, the assumption that humans could know or control all, or the most important aspects of such structures, "is to destroy, in principle, many of the features which give certain social organizations a supernatural aura - their properties of invisibility, immortality, pervasiveness, unknowness, inescapability, and their control over conduct through what seems to be the direct induction of purpose" (1966: 189; see also Balibar 1978 and Godelier 1974).

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This interpretation, however, does not fully conceptualize the conditions which allow for the reproduction of the above relations in everyday life. It is thus simpler to expose such connections than to explicate why they should take place at all or account for their varying course of development. One must determine the reciprocal action of symbolic and social power dynamically, in order to avoid posing such relations simply as reflections of one another.

An inquiry into how the economic, political, and social conditions of existence are organized and reproduced in daily terms helps unravel the manners in which symbolic and social power are engrained within a wider set of relationships. It thus constitutes an initial step in the effort to understand the dynamic underlying the political ideologies developed in a given mission (see also Broda 1978; Mouzellis 1978; Weights 1978). Considering economic, political, and social conditions of existence reproduced in everyday life partly by way of ideological means, makes it indispensable that one inquire about the relationship between these practical ideologies and their broader frame of political economic relationships.

A fifth approach analyzes the import of these relations. One may initially mention those who observe the part that may be played by social conditions of economic production in the acceptance or rejection of religious practices. While recognizing that broader economic conditions play a central part in the processes affecting the populations to be evangelized, it is also held that the control of a group's daily productive activities will (in and of itself) help deter the full impact of a religious mission and its social message. This argument may be observed to underlie both

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the analyses and descriptions of cultural change presented by Arguedas (1975, 1968), Fuenzalida (1980), Platt (1983), Rigby (1981), and Sider (1976).

This is not held to occur automatically or singly as a product of a continued control over economic conditions of existence. Dominion of social conditions of production, although interrelated with the former, can be of greater import yet. That is, economic control over means of production may be lost without a corresponding loss of religious belief (among other values) taking place (see, e. g., Platt 1983). At the same time it may be retained, although find itself accompanied by profound changes in social relations, including economic and religious ones, as a result of missionary endeavor (see, e.g., Hvalkof and Aaby 1981). The significance of the survivals and changes depends on the social locus of power.

It may be argued that those social processes of economic production which prove essential to a given group's capacity to actively respond to the missionary endeavor are those which affect its conditions of social reproduction. That is, which economic, social, and ideological conditions of existence should be apportioned and how, ties together not only given groups of people, but both lends content and directionality to their ideology and practices while constituting, precisely, the realms of missionary endeavor (see, among others, Jackson 1984; Muratorio 1982; Rigby 1981). This intersection in the processes of social production and reproduction, at one level, contributes to define social relations of production. At another level, it remains predicated upon a complex development of these same relations under varying historical conditions. Where missions thrive, contending relations of production lie at the roots.

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Muratorio (1982, 1980) and Rigby (1981) are perhaps the clearest proponents of this perspective among scholars specifically conducting research on the social impact of missions. Muratorio's argument is that ideological practices are not only always immersed in social relations of political and economic power, but are in turn socially organized and manipulated by different groups within a dynamic of class relationships under specific historical situations (1982). She proposes that to understand ideological exchanges of this nature, it is imperative that one analyze the relationships between the socio-economic structures of both the wider society and the groups being proselytized (related points are made by Cornforth 1971; Feuchtwang 1975; Rigby 1981, among others).

The underlying assumption is that dominant groups will always attempt to establish those ideological practices best suited for the stable functioning of their own mode of production. However, one may anticipate both that those groups subject to proselytist efforts shall make similar attempts, and that dominant and dominated groups may at times find themselves constrained by those conceptions proper to their sets of interests. Neither may prove capable, then, of developing entirely clear perceptions - whether of a rational or a functional nature - of what is required at different moments. In this regard, the premises of ideologies frequently transcend the most direct and immediate experiences of a social group (see, e.g., Balibar 1978; Bateson 1976; Mészáros 1978; Ollman 1978).

The Weight of Ideology in Different Social Formations

Ideological practices may express the complex articulation of capitalist and non-capitalist social relations of production within distinct social

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formations. Historical analysis is called for in order to understand how they have, both, developed over time and been affected by such underlying relations. Yet, under different contexts of social production, the ideological battles developed may also vary in significance. While social relations of production, then, can help understand the social meaning of ideological practices at given moments, ideological practices help, inversely, unravel the social relations of production in existence. But it is still necessary that one determine the weight an ideological stance may have under differing modes of production, while showing how this in turn can be affected by concrete developments. If one is to go beyond the partial interpretations of the models discussed so far, a more dynamic frame of analysis is called for which may allow for the back and forth transit between concepts and reality, or theory and concrete history.

Rigby (1981) develops the above approach by taking into account the varying weight that ideological factors have within distinct modes of production. He addresses, simultaneously, those on-the-ground developments that can, in turn, alter his conclusions. His method of analysis thus has a built-in dialectical framework which permits a back and forth movement between theory and practice.

While considering ideology in general as a necessary part of praxis, he inquires as to the type of social formation in which the ideological instance may prove dominant, suggesting a preeminent function in those cases where it contributes to define the primary means of social reproduction. In his attempt to understand "the relations between certain forms of ideology and the social formations in which they are, or can be, realized" (Ibid.: 96), he draws on the theoretical developments of both Marxism and struc-

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turalism:

> Such a problematic treats religions and religious change as aspects of ideological production, making the differences between one type and another, and the differences in their associated ideologies as 'systems of production' (...). The argument is a causal one, and the formation of ideologies in specific modes of production becomes the crucial issue (Ibid.: 97).

Not unlike Muratorio, Rigby propounds that the subject of study become the "historical clash and relative lack of articulation of social formations, modes of production, and ideological practices" (Ibid.).

On the one hand, Rigby uses the concept 'mode of production' to refer to "a specific articulation of relations and forces of production in a particular historical juncture, i.e., social formation; [in which] the nature of the articulation determines the nature of the mode of production and the social formation in which it is dominant" (Ibid.: 101). Yet, on the other, he considers that in "the pastoral formation under discussion, radical differences in the nature of the forces of production are [also] marked by specific forms of articulation, [thus] giving rise to distinct modes of production" (Ibid.). While both pastoralists and horticulturists, "qualify for inclusion in the wider category of the Germanic mode of production," each articulates their relations and forces of production rather differently. As he points out, "there are significant differences in the major means of production (as aspects of the forces of production) and, consequently, differences in the forms of access to, control of, and labor processes involved with these means of production (i.e., basic elements of the relations of production) ..." (Ibid.: 101-2). Missionaries thus failed among Maasai-speaking pastoralists, if not among cultivators, even when both could be considered variants of a single mode of production.

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Furthermore, "the de-facto character of the community relations of production, beyond the domestic group is expressed by the ideological organization of age-sets, or kinship groups, or both [which] ... goes hand in hand with the pre-eminent function of the community's own ideology in the reproduction process" (Ibid.: 102). Ideology is thus subject to modifications introduced by the productions relations of particular social formations which, when analyzed as a type of mode of production, present a 'systemic' or recurrent quality. Hence, the importance assumed within each mode may vary correspondingly. Rigby describes what this means among pastoralists:

> The efforts of men and god are conjoined and equal in a common enterprise. In such a context, God can hardly be an alienated, 'omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent' deity ... God may have the ultimate power to destroy what he has created, but he would only do so if men fail to ensure their own regeneration through cooperation, good herd management, and the correct ideological practices in relation to age organization as well as kinship ... Objectively, the notion of an unalienated pastoralist praxis, including its ideological forms, can be related dialectically to the relative absence of exploitative relations in these social formations in the most specific as well as the broadest sense of the latter: man's appropriation of the world and 'other men.' This pastoralist unity of theory and praxis affords the subject a firm basis from which to perceive 'the other,' who can be fully assimilated into the community on the grounds of his dialectical 'difference,' as long as he does not initiate a discourse which threatens that unity, for example, by advocating agriculture (anti-praxis) or by positing an alienated mystical force which controls the immediate destiny of men (ideological antipraxis). The dialectic of oppositions perceived by Ilparakuyo and Maasai in their unified pastoral and ideological praxis would collapse should any such intrusion be successful, removing the conditions under which the community can reproduce itself and the manner in which it 'appropriates the world.' ... [Thus] the Maasai and Ilparakuyo accepted missionaries and other strangers as individuals, with open arms, yet ultimately rejected the ideologies and other practices to which the strangers began to demand conformity (Ibid.: 105-7).

Missionaries who did not practice what they preached but, rather, sided with the administration's and settler's desire for land and labor

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were, for this reason, rejected:

> For the pastoralists this was historically possible, first, because they had already been relegated to the economic margins of the colonial political economy, but more important, because the ideological and economic practice characteristic of their social formation perhaps encouraged an awareness deeper than that attained by their agricultural neighbors (until it was too late) of the consequences of missionary penetration. One cannot help but wonder whether, had the missionaries brought to East Africa the revolutionary ideology characteristic of early Christianity rather than the bourgeois economism of nineteenth-century Europe (...), perhaps the Galla, Maasai, and Ilparakuyo might have become the evangelical crusaders of Krapf's dreams (Ibid.: 125).

A similar line of thought has been developed by Sider, although in a somewhat different context and on a more general level of analysis (1976). His study of Christmas mumming among Newfoundland fishermen leads him to inquire into the part played by cultural ideology in the social reproduction of certain precapitalist social formations and the fatal impact that capitalist relations of production can have upon such formations.

He thus incorporates the idea that in different historical contexts, the economic and social can be intertwined in different manners. He notes that "the reproduction of relations of work and, to a certain extent, of production, occurs primarily within the domain of culture during those periods when relations of production are organized within communities, or within networks of inter-marring or otherwise mutually supportive communities ... [and] culture - ideas, values, and beliefs about with whom people ought to work, the social conditions of work, and so forth - is crucial to the organization of production and to its continual reorganization" (1976: 121). Conversely, the "relations of production in a capitalist system are self-reproducing, built into the very system," at the same time that ideology assumes in this context maintenance functions, or

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an indirect role (Ibid.: 121, 125; see also Ollman 1978). In Newfoundland:

> ... while kin groups organize the social relations of production, the community organizes the reproduction of those relations of production over time and on the level of culture ... [Thus] mumming serves to reproduce social relations, not just specific relations which can be either reinforced or changed in the course of being reproduced, but the social system that makes possible continued change and continuity in change (Ibid.: 120).

The introduction of whaling companies, and with these of capitalist, individualized relations of production, consequently, dealt a death blow now not only to Christmas mumming but to culture as the foundation of social reproduction.

Summarizing, the studies of cultural change developed under this frame of analysis suggest that ideological factors become particularly critical in those instances where they prove definitive in the development of social reproduction processes. Consequently, this applies above all to those social formations where domestic units of production prevail and control the organization of their own economic activities. In these contexts, the interdependent articulation of different domestic units occurs to a great extent by way of ideological mechanisms, which thereby contribute in critical ways to cement those relations beyond each particular unit required for social reproduction, much like the existence of clans among the Harakmbut.

Domestic units retain, in significant degrees, control over their basic processes of economic production and power relations remain relatively widely spread, the primary mechanisms of social reproduction and articulation take place fundamentally (if not necessarily uniquely for this reason) by way of ideological means. Where greater concentrations of power exist instead within groups whose domestic units retain some control over their means of production, articulation generally takes

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place by way of political means. This distinction is by no means solely quantitative, or simply a matter of degree.

Where ideology contributes substantially to the definition of the wider set of relations of reproduction that affect the basic conditions of existence, one may expect an interdependence among the domestic units articulated. In those cases where political mechanisms are of essence, one may expect processes of mutual dependence to ensue in order for varying aspects of reproduction to take place among the distinct units. For this very same reason, and depending on the nature and importance the conditions of production involved may have, one would anticipate a persistently latent possibility of their unequal distribution and control (Marx 1979). Thus, while all societies may be said to exhibit a number of political, ideological, and economic mechanisms in their functioning, these do not work alike or have equal meanings throughout.

The correspondences between ideology and practice in social formations where interdependent domestic units are to be found can help account for the substantial reserve observed before those ideological changes affecting processes of social reproduction. Such correspondence may account for the possibilities of developing resistance through this mechanism of reserve as well. In such cases, opposition, or defiant responses, are not only a product of the marginal position held vis-à-vis the medular concerns of dominant groups. They emerge, as importantly, in relationship to the extent to which ideological structures assume or retain primary importance in helping define access to economic and social conditions of existence. In a sense, an unalienated praxis may be assumed to lie at the base of an unalienated response, while at the same time both

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may be considered engrained in concrete material and ideological resources and relationships. In another sense, however, and as Meillassoux observes, the persistence of domestic units of production can foster, nonetheless, economic exploitation - given their absorption of the costs of social reproduction that capital might otherwise have had to assume (1975). Yet the very social and ideological continuity of such units, paradoxically, still underlies the imperfect control exhibited over them (see, for a similar point, Roseberry 1977). Amidst these processes, given contradictions in the dynamics of capitalist development will emerge and contribute to the outcome of the missionary endeavor (see, for related points, Foweraker 1982; O'Laughlin 1977; Smith 1984).

The anthropological study of the social impact of missions, then, may profit from a political economic approach which focuses on the dialectic between ideology and social relations of production in given social formations and modes of production, while contributing, in turn, to this very framework by providing the opportunity to closely study the interaction of ideology and praxis in a historical context.

Scope of the Present Study

The social analysis of missions has traditionally challenged the political and religious sensibilities of people in various parts of the world (see, for example, Feldman 1983, 1981; Garland 1978; Miller 1981; Nida 1966; Salamone 1977; Stipe 1980; Tippett 1972; etc.). However, this study will center upon the practical ideologies fostered through missionary endeavor rather than on the religious belief systems introduced per se. This particular effort to understand the social significance of

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of missions should thus be primarily considered as a contribution to the sociologies of both ideology and religion.

Nonetheless, this research effort may help approach a number of additional anthropological issues implicit in the study of missions. Among these, two stand out, the: (a) traditional anthropological concern with cultural diffusion, including its reverberations on our comprehension of the nature of culture, evolution, acculturation, and applied anthropology and (b) processes of state formation and nation-building, including its related quandaries with respect to hegemonic processes, ethnicity, tradition-oriented struggles (ethnogenesis), and finally, the articulation of different modes of production and 'development of underdevelopment.' This is to suggest that, whether framed in terms of ideology or political economy, the key issue - both in the above concerns and in the social impact of missions - is the analysis of the acceptance or exclusion of particular sets of 'cultural' values and comportments in distinct groups of people.

The approaches to be used in this dissertation will subsume, in one way or another, critical developments in the anthropological study of the diffusion and social impact of religious missions. However, when appropriate, concepts shall also be developed through alternate methods of inquiry, in particular, political economy, history, philosophy, and the sociologies of religion and ideology. Missions crystallize conceptions regarding the nature man and his universe which are linked to particular and historically bound civilizational schemes. These may be considered, in turn, a product of social relationships sustained by political and economic forces at set times and places. Hence, the cultural attributes fostered by missionary endeavor, whether material or ideological, will be approached as likewise

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engrained in, if not necessarily reducible to, this wider field of forces.

Chapter 2 looks at the processes surrounding the Harakmbut's resistance to their incorporation into the larger society before the turn of the nineteenth century. Chapter 3 inquires theoretically into the conditions under which proselytizing efforts emerge and thrive. Chapter 4 focuses on the factors surrounding the efforts to consolidate the Peruvian nation-state at the turn of the twentieth century, when the Dominicans were introduced to the Madre de Dios area inhabited by the Harakmbut and others. Chapter 5 considers, theoretically, the criteria used to determine the meaning of ideological processes. Chapter 6 presents the ideology put forth by the Dominicans to legitimize their endeavors in Madre de Dios. Chapter 7 considers the social meaning of ideological phenomena by focusing on the political economic processes that can intervene. Chapter 8 presents the political economy of Madre de Dios during the twentieth century which lent social content to the ideological practices introduced by the Dominicans. Chapter 9 explores the areas of social existence that missionaries can affect, hence, the significance of the mechanisms they frequently employ. Chapter 10 looks at the precise conditions under which the Dominicans incorporated the Harakmbut into a 'mission complex.' Chapter 11, finally, sums up and differentiates socially the impact of the Dominicans among the Harakmbut, before delving into a final discussion regarding the import of religious missions and the responses currently being generated by the Harakmbut.

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CHAPTER 2

CARABAYA AND Q'OSNIPATA TO THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The drawing of boundaries over one's area of study is perhaps just as problematic, at times, as the demarcation of set limits on one's research endeavor. As in an orchestra, the physical components may remain relatively constant and yet produce altogether different sounds, depending on who conducts the particular piece and what rhythms and tones are then emphasized.

Well into the twentieth century, our knowledge of the Madre de Dios lowland river basin and the limits on the development of missions among the Harakmbut, is marked by those relationships which helped imprint its significance on outsiders at different moments. Varying names and spaces thereby fall in and out of our perception of the area over time (although the maps included in this dissertation, covering the period from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, show progress in this regard). The problem is further compounded by the current extinction or severe reduction of its original populations.

This chapter will discuss some of the problems in the early sources of information left to us and the major contributions to the anlysis of highland-lowland relations in our area of study, both before the arrival of the Spanish and during the colonial period, when they were largely founded upon the production of coca and gold.

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The Nature of Existing Sources

We can deduce the persistence of certain Amazonian populations over time from various historical and ethnographic sources. But we have relatively interrupted and hence static glimpses of the internal and external interactions of these groups and their unfolding through time (for example, the Juicio de Límites entre Peru y Bolivia, edited by Víctor Maúrtua between 1906 and 1907). The ethnographic maps on the following pages are but approximations of what may have existed.

Fairly constant mention is made of the Harakmbut region as one contained within the Alto Madre de Dios, Madre de Dios, and Inambari rivers (on the east, north, and west) and the lowland upriver tributaries that originate in the Cusco and Puno highlands (to the south). However, the historical displacements and relationships of the Harakmbut with their neighbors to the east, north, and west remain unclear. One may cite two examples from the nineteenth century. The first records knowledge of the Wachipaeri among a group of indigenous peoples in the Purús river to the north, in Brazil (Nordenskiöld 1906: 547). The second mentions the awareness among Arawakan peoples in the Urubamba valley to the east, in Cusco, of the Sirineris (Sábate 1877: 11). Both accounts raise more questions than they answer.

A little more is known about the entrances made to the south of their region, by both Inca and Spaniards. However, the precise nature of the interrelationships that developed with the indigenous groups is still not entirely clear. Harakmbut mythology has a place for both

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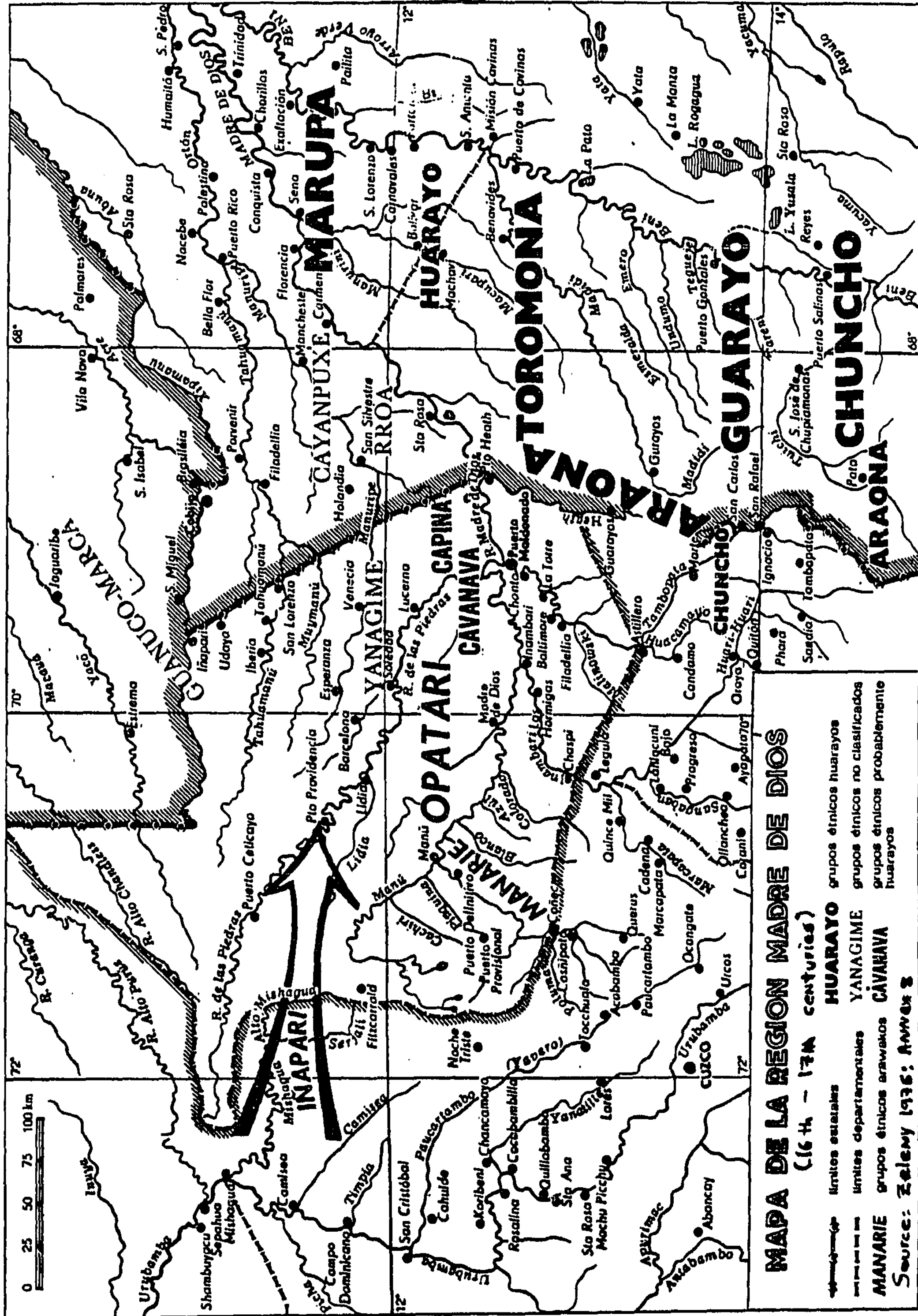

Map 2

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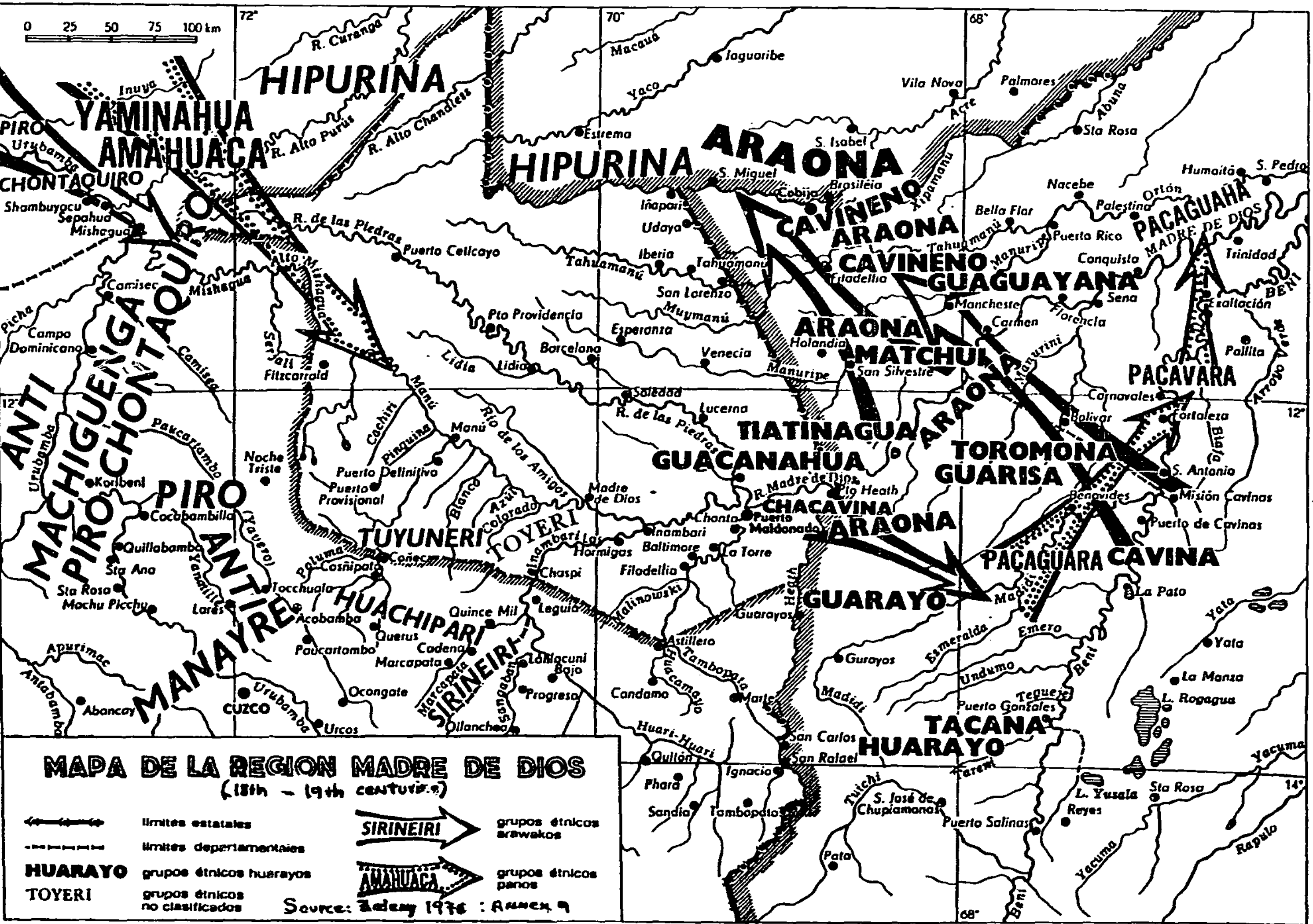

Map 3

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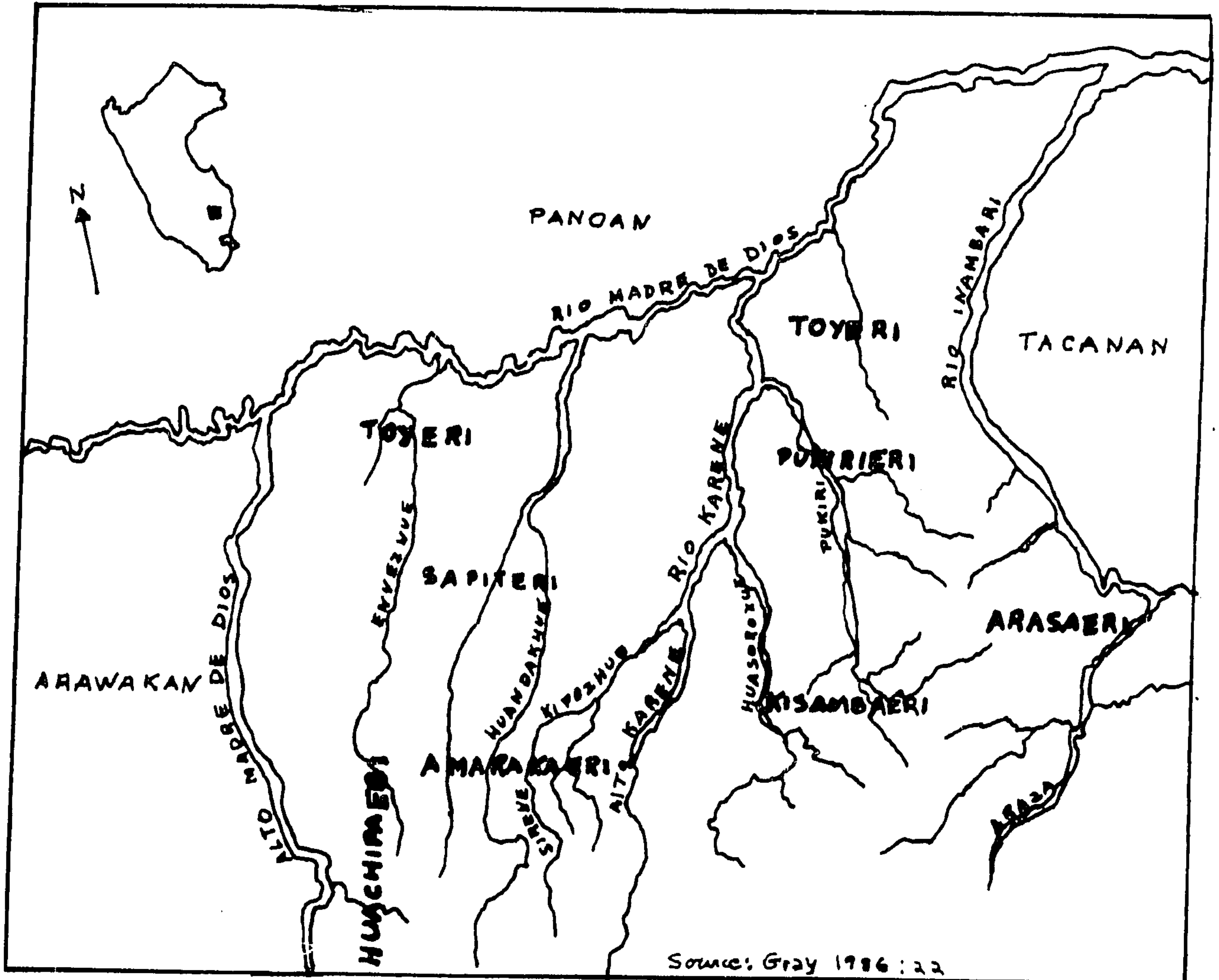
MAP OF THE MADRE DE DIOS, INDICATING THE TRADITIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE HARAKMBUT



Map 4

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the Inca and Spanish, the salient characteristics of which are yet to be described. Given the currently incomplete nature of both the mythological and archaeological records, it is best to focus on what is known historically of the Harakmbut.

The first historical accounts from the sixteenth century concerning the Harakmbut southern region derive from Spanish expeditions. these expeditions were strongly marked (like their writings) by their development in response to the limited nature of the colonial booty elsewhere and the related conflicts that arose as a result among the conquerors (Saignes 1981: 146). Spanish interest in the Amazon thus focused on the wealth that might be obtained through such incursions where, furthermore, those defeated elsewhere exercised their last hope of encountering any riches at all. Finally, such 'conquests' appear also to have been used to obtain titles and hence rights to land or labor (e.g., Polanco 1906 [1664]: 218-9). Missionaries initially worked independently, penetrating only the periphery of the Harakmbut's territory. As a result, few accounts survive of those early incursions.

The early entrances did not generally succeed. Hence, the conditions under which they took place were usually confused or exaggerated. For example, the area and its people were frequently simply presented as truly 'savage' (one finds similar conceptions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whenever unsubjugated peoples are found). The distinction drawn in the early period between generic 'Indians' - those who had been 'converted' to the Christian faith - and specific although usually erroneously named 'nations' of people - who would show relative degrees of political economic autonomy - confused further the

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indigenous groups being referred to. The same social unit would thus receive a number of different names, depending on the time period when it was found and the individual members through whom it was identified.

The myth of Paititi - which envisages unlimited sources of wealth lying hidden in certain parts of the Amazon waiting to be uncovered - expresses the prevailing approximation to the Amazon during the colonial period. A response to the Spaniards' inability to develop sustained relationships with most lowland groups, it filled in imaginatively for the difficult unfolding of continuous highland-lowland interactions. Not widely known during the first period of Spanish penetration, the myth developed forcefully during the seventeenth century.

The myth is associated with the still unresolved historical problem posed by the supposed escape of a fraction of the Inca forces from the last neo-Inca refuge in Vilcabamba, Cusco, to an area around Madre de Dios. There, based on previously existing alliances, settlement is held to have taken place in an area surrounded by numerous lakes. This neo-Inca reign mentioned by miscellaneous observers in the sixteenth century turned progressively, in not just Spanish imagination, into a land of unlimited wealth and material plenty, if not more specifically, gold (Anonymous 1906 [n.d.]: 156). The area referred to may have been the region of Moxos, studied by William Denevan, where the construction of water channels had transformed a swampy terrain into a densely populated and highly productive and valued agricultural zone (1980a; Recio 1906 [1627]: 242-57; Saignes 1985). The myth regarding an area populated long before the Spanish conquest was misunderstood by the Spanish when they equated the concept of wealth with

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that of gold (Lyon, personal communication). It, furthermore, may have have fused with and complemented the existing millenarism of the indigenous Tupi peoples nearby, who shortly before the arrival of the Spanish, had at times posed an evwn greater threat than the Inca in the area (Saignes 1985, 1981).

The myth grew in strength throughout the seventeenth century, as the Spanish found fewer and fewer possibilities for conducting their explorations. This growing inability was a result of both their repeated failures and the dramatic population decline which raised labor costs and focused attention on higher and more secure sources of profit, especially those related to the extraction of silver from the Potosí mines (this included the production of coca, which was nearly as important to the colonial economy) (Saignes 1985: 57). Possibly an aid in gathering support for the development of such expeditions, whenever the Amazon was referred to, the myth sprung up in many a person's imagination with near millenarian expectation.

The gulf between highland and lowland realities fostered numerous other misconceptions, which in turn helped:

> ... perpetuate a stereotype of contact ... in which a sort of no-man's-land ... [existed] between the two, and colonization and conquest ... [became] the major forms of interaction. ... [while] the use of a unitary model for interchange between the highlands and the lowlands ... [obscured] the considerable geographical and ecological variability within both regions (Lyon n.d.a: 3-4).

The montaña constituted both a barrier and a point of contact (Saignes 1985: 86). It is thus useful to try to separate, although not entirely divorce, the imperial and everyday concerns that marked relationships between the two regions both at the time of the Inca and the Spanish.

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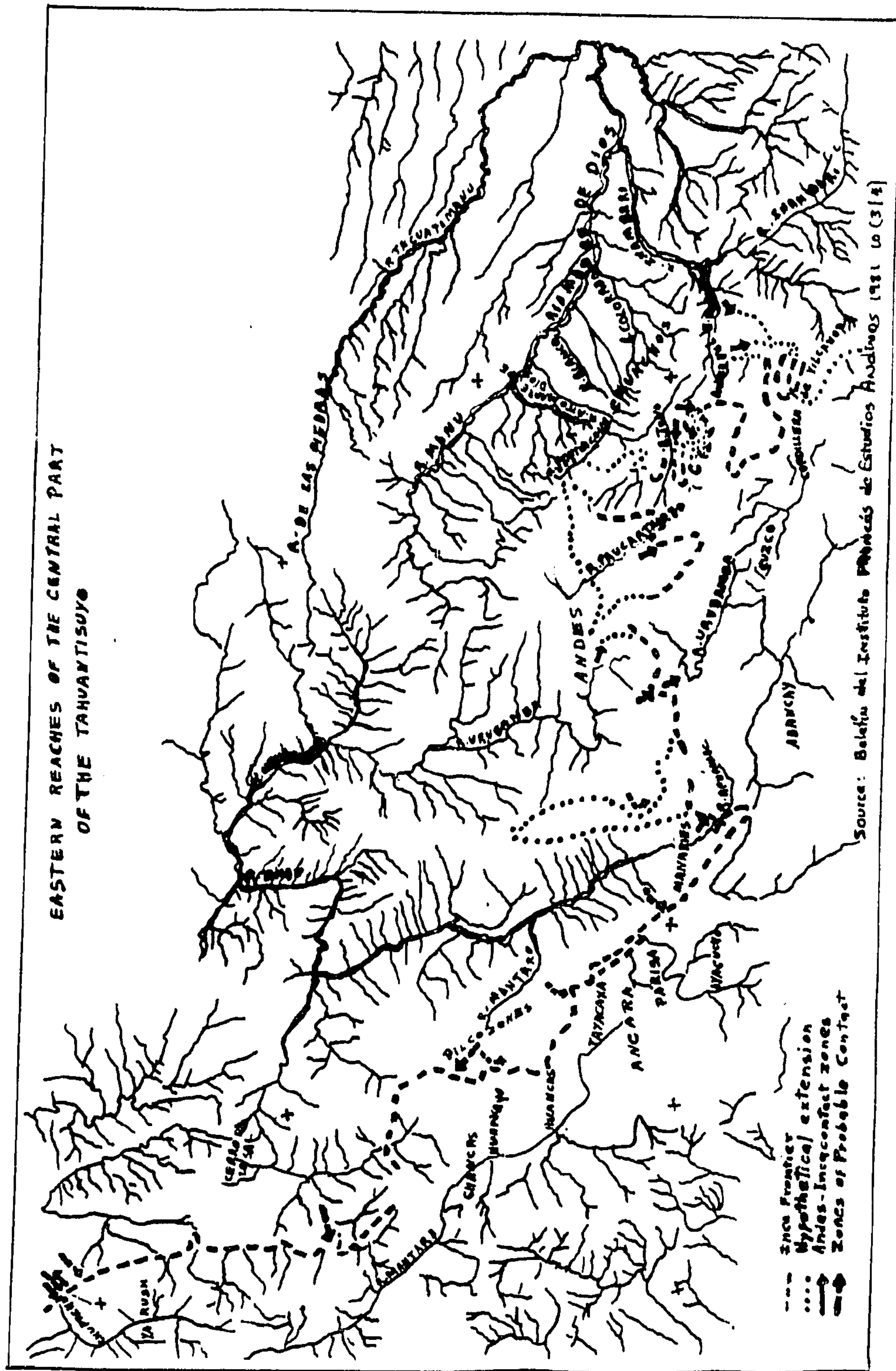

Map 5

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While this type of effort is just now bearing its first fruits among scholars, it will also remain forever limited by the scarcity of archival sources. One can, however, give a general overview of the penetration of the Harakmbut area on the basis of the pioneering efforts of Lyon (n.d.a, b), Saignes (1985, 1981), and Werlich (1968).

Highland-Lowland Relations During the Tahuantisuyo

The major Inca military incursion into the Harakmbut area was carried out by Topa Inca between the years of 1473 and 1475 through the Q'osñipata and Carabaya valleys. Yet, just as in the case of his Spanish successors, Topa Inca's expedition failed to bear its anticipated fruits on account of both the political animosities faced outside the region and, perhaps, the unrealistic nature and expectations of the undertaking. The dense tropical vegetation and the dispersed yet interdependent social connection of its inhabitants foiled the military strategies and programs of the invaders. Political alliances and commercial or 'ritual' exchanges, along with restricted occupation, bore more fruit (see, e.g., Saignes 1985).

Everyday contact between highland and lowland peoples appears to have been effective though fluctuating. Trade, alliances, ritual exchanges, and limited territorial occupation were the hallmarks of various circuits of interaction. Trading of such items as feathers, honey, cotton, chonta, palm, and medical plants, among other goods, possibly in exchange for metal tools, laid the base for temporary alliances. At the same time, limited regional settlement and the exchange of various forms of 'religious' knowledge facilitated the

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more stable and direct access of highlanders to coca, gold, hot peppers, and maize (Ibid.; Casevitz 1981: 139; Murra 1986: 50).

As Murra observes, certain products, including coca, were produced and controlled by highlanders independently of any state structure, contrary to what is frequently thought:

> Of course barter or trade or some other form of exchange could secure these specialty crops. The fact is that the Andean solution ... [formed] a pattern in which the land at the disposal of a specific social unit was widely dispersed - anywhere from four to 12 days' walk away - and the group's own people cultivated it on their behalf. Coca leaf ... fit into this wider category of products produced, exchanged and consumed in the vertical 'archipelago' of ecological zones so essential to the Andean economic system.
>
> ... Often the gardens planted for coca leaf produced many other items, including fruit. Three, four or even five ethnic groups from the highlands would share one of these garden areas. ...
>
> Thus to study coca leaf we should see it in this broader context of warm-weather crops, routinely available to highlanders who did not rely on a government monopoly or on an itinerant trader (Murra 1986: 50).

Similar descriptions of these multi-crop gardens in certain areas during the colonial period may be found in Molina (1907 [1753]: 222) and Casevitz (1981: 139).

Lyon has analyzed the possible nature of both the trade and occupation that took place in the southern fringes of the Harakmbut territory at the time of the Inca:

> It is unlikely that the Incas would have penetrated into the lowlands much beyond the head of navigation. Their culture, including their patterns of warfare, was based upon land transportation. Water was, and still is, considered powerful and dangerous. The Incas could have penetrated effectively into the watery realms of the flat lowlands only on the basis of almost total dependence on canoe-using allies and, while they were willing to entrust coastwise trade to subject peoples, it is unlikely they would have based their hopes of territorial expansion on movements not entirely under their control.

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> Other goods could be obtained easily enough by way of trade with no need to extend the empire beyond the point where its army could keep its feet firmly planted on Sacred Mother Earth, Pacha Mama.
>
> Early Spanish reports seem to suggest a pattern of trade with the tropical lowlands which, in some cases, continued into the nineteenth century. This pattern consisted of regular yearly trading exchanges in which groups of lowlanders visited a fixed point somewhere between the highlands and lowlands at a certain time each year ... timed to occur near the end of the dry season (i.e., from July - September) probably both because it is easier to travel upriver and ford rivers at that time and because that season tends to be a slack period in the work cycle of montaña dwellers.
>
> ... although we speak of trade, and the lowlanders (like the Spaniards) may have seen the yearly exchanges as trade, the Incas may have seen them in quite another light. Some chroniclers refer to 'tribute' provided by the lowlanders to the Incas ..., but it is unlikely that the Incas would have tried to pursue any group that did not present its tribute unless, as appears to have been the case of Cosñipata, there were other reasons they wanted the territory. Thus, it seems probable that at the same time the lowlanders appeared with their 'tribute,' the Incas presented them with 'gifts,' and everyone was satisfied.
>
> [Thus] ... the montaña appears to have been treated much the same as other parts of the empire, at least as far as the head of navigation. Montaña regions were either conquered by force of arms or alliances were made with the inhabitants. Defensive posts were established along the frontiers and were staffed largely by mitimaes from other recently incorporated parts of the empire, while trade/tribute relations were instituted with the groups living on and beyond the border (Lyon n.d.a: 8-9).

These observations are generally shared by Saignes (1985, 1981) and borne out by the primary sources I have consulted contained in the volumes of the Juicio de Límites entre Perú y Bolivia (Maúrtua 1907, 1906).

As Werlich notes, then, "The Inca conquest of the Montaña was primarily one of territory, not of people" (1968: 57; see also Murra 1986). The territories that were conquered had to be settled or worked

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primarily, if not exclusively, by outsiders.

The Inca were known for their programs of forced colonization, both permanent and temporary. Concerning permanent colonization, Werlich observes that:

> Throughout the empire, entire populations were uprooted and moved to new locations for economic and political reasons. These colonists, or mitimaes, usually were settled in areas with altitudes similar to those of their homelands ... Consequently, mitimaes sent to the trans Andean valleys frequently were from the coastal plain ...
>
> ... The colonists were subsidized and exempt from taxes until they became self-sufficient, and they were given protection from Chuncho raids. The colonies were semi-autonomous, they were not subject to provincial authorities, but were governed by their own chiefs who were directly responsible to the imperial officials in Cuzco.
>
> Inca colonies in the Montaña were served by the finest system of roads the region has known until the twentieth century. Roads, many still visible and still in use, connected important centers in the Ceja de la Montaña with the highlands. In the south, the Sierra town of Ayaviri was the hub of a network reaching into the Carabaya region through Macusani, Sandía, and present-day Astillero on the Rio Tambopata. From Cuzco, one road penetrated deep into the Urubamba Valley, while another led to the Montaña east of Paucartambo ...
>
> ... once established, the mitimaes continued to work under the direction of the state. Farmers were told what crops to plant, and how they were to be planted. ... Imperial specialists also supervised mining operations, handicraft industries, and even the gathering of wild products.
>
> Military-agricultural colonies similar to those found today along Peru's Amazonian boundaries were established at strategic locations along the Chuncho frontier. Soldiers and their families or simply warlike tribes were settled in garrison communities ... to protect both highland and other Montaña settlements from Chuncho marauders, but they were also expected to raise their own food, and even send surplus commodities to the Sierra. Because duty in these outposts was unattractive, the soldiers were granted special privileges ... (Ibid.: 58-60).

Regarding temporary labor, Werlich notes that:

> Additional labor for work in the Montaña was supplied

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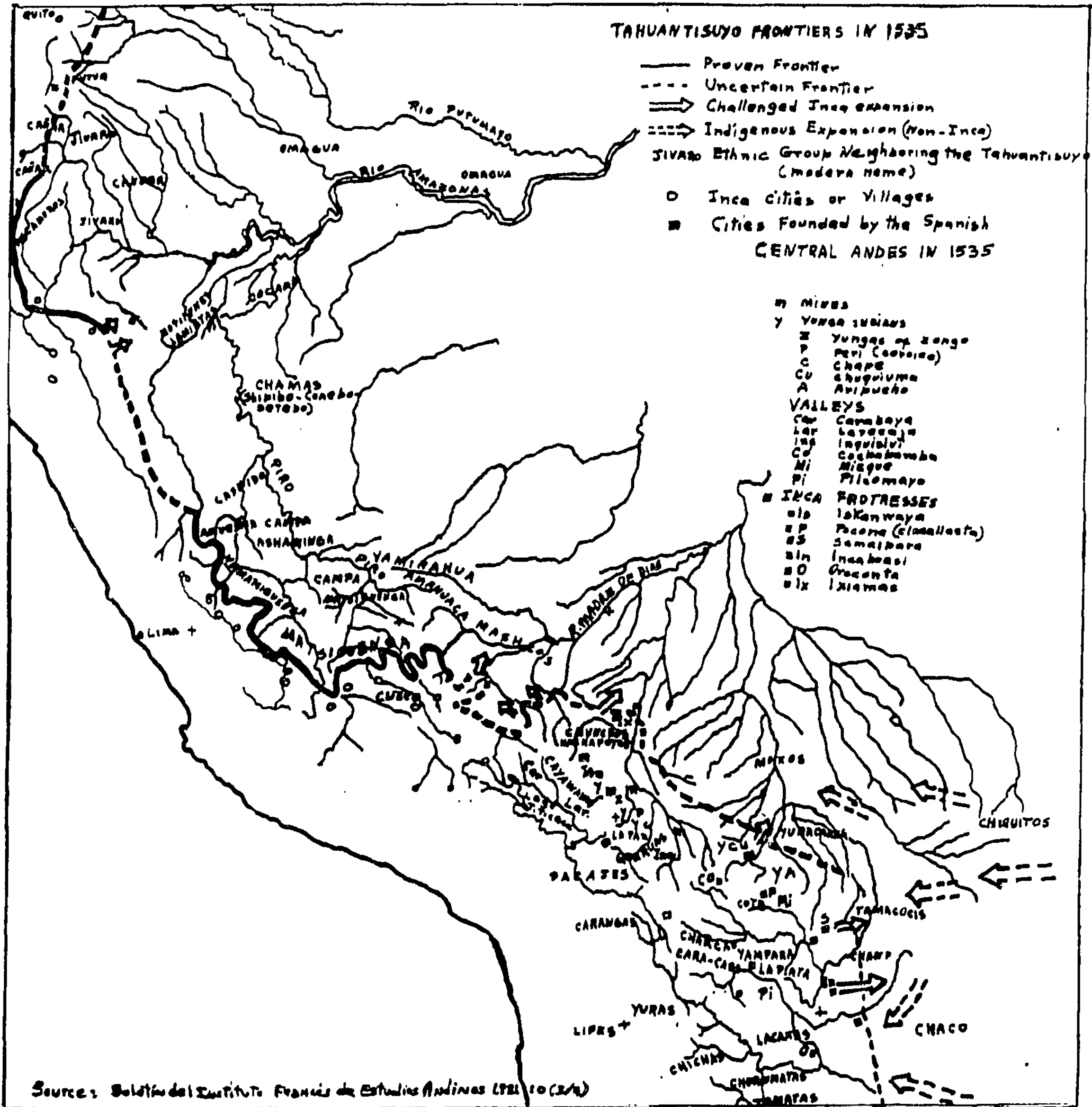

Map 6

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> through the *mita* or tax service. Each year, most communities in the empire had to contribute a certain percentage of their labor force to government projects. The period of service for these *mitayos*, as the Spaniards later called them, was often one year in the highlands; but in the Montaña the *mita* term usually was only three months ... Unlike the colonists, the *mitayos* who served in the trans-Andean region often were from adjacent areas in the high Andes; it was not practical to recruit Indians from ... [further] for short periods of labor.
>
> *Mita* labor often supplemented that of the colonists at harvest time and on public works projects, but some areas in the Montaña were exploited almost exclusively by *mitayos*. The mines of Carabaya, for example, were worked primarily by levies of Colla Indians from the nearby Sierra. The *mita* system was ideal for the production of coca, and most *cocales*, or plantations, were worked by *mitayos*. ... Coca was gathered four times a year at three-month intervals, and each harvest was called, understandably, a '*mita*' (*Ibid.*: 60-1).

Andean influence, then, penetrated "deep into the lowlands to the east," although its native inhabitants were never permanently subjugated (*Ibid.*: 62). While many of the same products were obtained as before, under the Inca their trade was greatly expanded (*Ibid.*).

The Harakmbut maintained their political autonomy before Andean highlanders, including the Inca and their various processes of state expansionism. Although they seemingly lost some land in the upper reaches of their territory, they limited Inca penetration to trade relationships with highlanders. Coca and gold were obtained through the labor of mitayos, on the basis of both spontaneous and carefully planned schemes of colonization and temporary work. This contrasts the chaotic nature of subsequent occupations of the area (see, e.g., Saignes 1985).

The Colonial Production of Coca and Gold

While in the early colonial period the expeditions into the lowlands by the Spanish bred few if any effective results, everyday life

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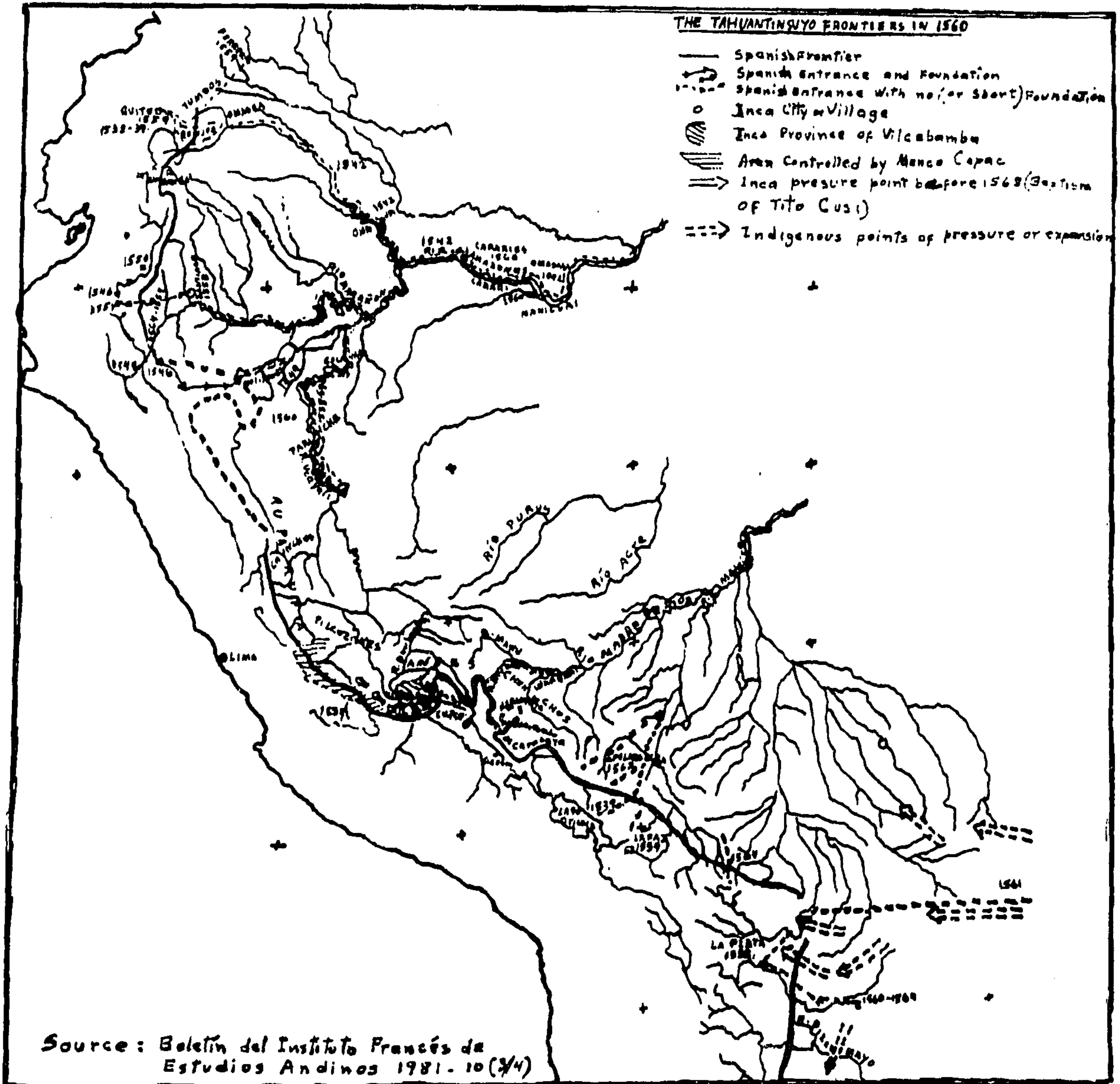

Map 7

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appears to have been affected again. Furthermore, some areas came to provide refuge zones for those fleeing from the Spanish demands of labor and surplus produce. The pre-conquest organization of communication routes, labor, and production continued to provide the parameters of everyday interaction (see, e.g., Anynymous 1906 [1570]: 39; Lizarazu 1906 [1636]: 138). Despite a number of continuities in production activities, their social meaning was transformed radically once pursued for their exchange as opposed to use value (see, e.g., Casevitz 1981: 135). Under the new circumstances, the boom and bust period of gold extraction in Carabaya became shortlived, while the production of coca leaves in Q'osñipata remained conflict-ridden (see, e.g., Molina 1907 [1753]: 221-30).

Missionaries were interested in the native peoples to the east of Cusco and Puno. Yet the lowlanders did not feel obliged to return missionary gifts with labor and appear, rather, to have used these religious figures to foster their own overall economic and military concerns (Carrillo 1906 [1678]: 1-33; Anonymous 1906 [n.d.]: 164; Saignes 1981: 164-75; Vargas Ugarte 1959: 251). As many of the major sources of extractable wealth were quickly depleted and the population decline increased labor costs, no major motivating factor- whether economic or military - remained to justify the expenditure of further amounts of energy in the pursuit of such endeavors.

The part played by those who fled the highlands is more uncertain. While mention is made of such individuals as being assimilated, the fate of those groups who escaped <u>en masse</u> is unknown (Saignes 1981: 168). What is clear is that raids by lowlanders are mentioned in connection

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with the initial disruptions of trade relationships and the appearance of the Spanish (although here, as well, it remains unclear to which groups the sources of information are always referring).

Carabaya provided the Spanish with gold for a number of years. Exploited even before the Inca period, it became the most important gold producing area in the early colonial period. The Spanish settlement in the area, San Juan del Oro, was founded about 1557 or 1558, "When a group of free Negroes and mulattoes and perhaps some white refugees from the defeated army of the rebel Hernández Girón discovered a bonanza in gold dust and nuggets" (Werlich 1968: 130). According to Cieza de León, up to 1553 the Spanish drew from the area more than 1'700,000 pesos worth of gold (quoted in Werlich 1968: 138).

However, the mining camps, much as today, had to import all their supplies and goods in order to survive. While trade greatly increased in the area, to paraphrase Werlich, Carabaya not only became no place for the timid, but remained subject to the assaults of its surrounding lowland inhabitants while its costs of living continued to rise the further one proceeded in the search of gold (Ibid.: 140). Yet, the district of San Juan del Oro augmented its population from 30 or 40 persons at the time of its foundation, to about 3,000 in the course of 10 years (Ibid.: 141).

By 1570, the mining centers began to decline, and by 1583, the population was below 1,500 and well into the trend of continued decline which led Viceroy Toledo to complain in 1572 that almost nothing was being paid in taxes (Ibid.: 141-2). Although subject to a tax of one-fifth of their gold throughout this period, few had ever complied (I-

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bid.). Yields had decreased, costs of operation remained high, needed trails were neither built nor maintained when existent, foodstuffs and supplies were increasingly expensive when they arrived at all, and the natives' raids and miners' own in-fighting continued (Ibid.: 142). By 1570, as labor became ever more difficult to obtain, the "mitas formally assigned to Carabaya mine operators were diverted to Potosí," while "the encomenderos and corregidores of Collao began sending their experienced Indian miners and surplus food" there as well (Ibid.: 142). Only small local producers remained working gold much as they previously had, although some highlanders penetrated into the area certain times of the year to 'harvest' gold with which to pay their tribute (Martínez 1969: 79).

The production of coca leaves was greatly increased by the Spaniards who sold it to the miners of Potosí. It became a highly commercialized commodity that not only involved many people - middlemen, wholesalers, and local traders - but led to great fortunes among those who undertook its cultivation (Murra 1986: 49). The coca producers, or camayos, however, paid dearly with their health for this increase in consumption:

> In some cocales, or plantations, it was estimated that one third to one-half of the workers died. In fact labor in the cocales often was given as a principal cause of the depopulation of the country (Werlich 1968: 146).

While the increase in the rates of leishmaniasis (now thought to be associated with large-scale deforestation activities) was commonly signalled as a main cause, improper feeding, clothing, shelter, and, particularly, overwork and general labor abuse, including debt-bondage, appear to have been more significant (Zúñiga 1907 [1775]: 144, 146; Molina 1907 [1753]: 221-30; Villanueva 1982: 13). Legislation protecting camayos was passed

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but was not observed. According to Werlich, "This legislation was ... [basically] a compromise between the reformers and the owners of the <u>cocales</u> and their large customers, the employers of Indian labor" (1968: 147; see also Casevitz 1981: 135).

The coca produced in the Q'osñipata area was a "principal source of the 1'500,000 pounds of leaves which Cusco annually shipped to Potosí in the early seventeenth century (Lizárraga, quoted in Werlich 1968: 150). According to Lyon:

> Although specific numbers are not given, the data are sufficient to infer a relatively large population in this region in the 16th century. The relatively sparse evidence regarding the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries indicates a decline in prosperity, the extent of which may be seen in the figures available for the numbers of haciendas in the last half of the 18th century. Reports in the 19th century are sufficient to follow the continuing deterioration in detail (n.d.b: 2-3).

The decline that gradually set in is discussed by Lyon after careful study:

> These haciendas were especially vulnerable because of their more cultural nature, and competition from other provinces had affected them severely by the mid-18th century, while the influx of Bolivian coca following the War of Indépendence was disastrous. The nature of the crop, which required so much labor to harvest, made them particularly vulnerable to the labor shortage brought about by the general population decline following the Spanish conquest as well as that resulting from the War of Independence. The effect on the haciendas of the shortage of pack animals brought on by the war would have been exacerbated by the labor shortage, since humans could not have been used to replace mules, and coca had to be promptly removed to the highlands or it would spoil. As the number of functioning haciendas decreased under such pressures, the burden of providing money and labor for the upkeep of access routes would have increased on those remaining, and may have become so onerous that the only economically feasible response was to abandon a severely depopulated area. Because of topographical considerations, each major river valley of the Paucartambo complex seems to have had separate access to the highlands, and the pattern of abandonment of haciendas appears to have been one of withdrawal from entire valleys (n.d.b: 21-2).

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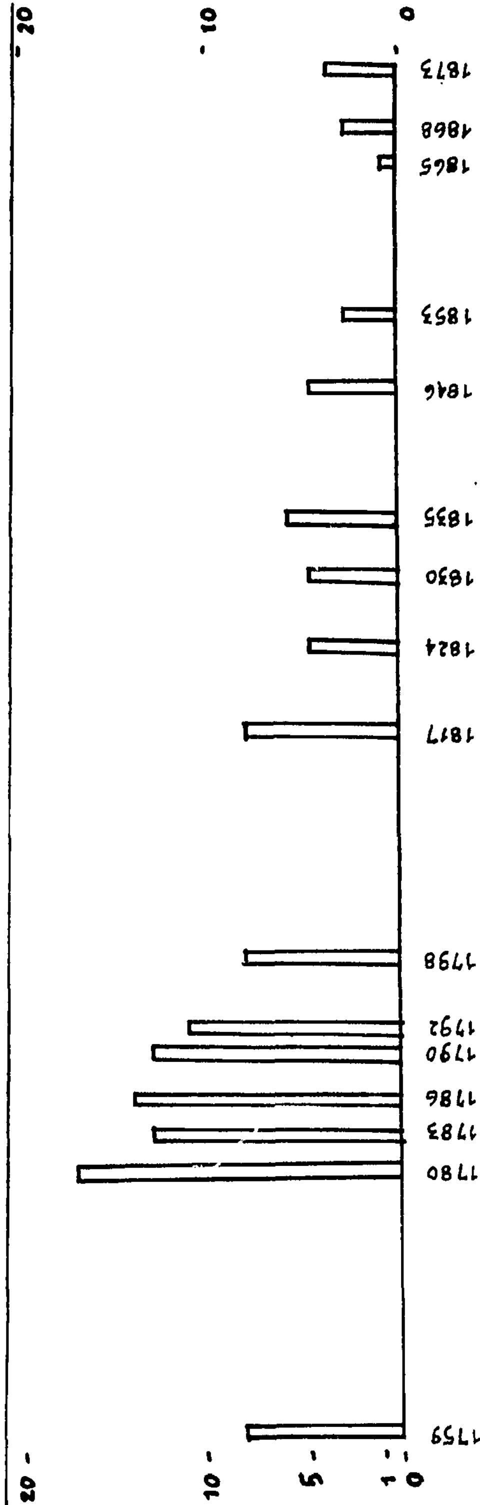
Chart 1



Source: Lyon N.d.b.:46

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Although numerous myths in the nineteenth century again blamed 'hostile savages' for the decline of these haciendas while exaggerating the number of those destroyed, there is no evidence that a single hacienda was destroyed in this way (Lyon n.d.b: Anonymous 1907 [1780]: 338). It appears, rather, that the conditions under which highlanders were made to labor, abetted by external pressures, accounted for the decline that set in during the eighteenth century (see, Molina 1907 [1753]: 224; Villasante 1907 [1799]: 231-4). The increase in coca production in the Bolivian yungas during this period might stand related to the primary use in the area of 'free' sources of labor (see, for example, Klein 1986). This does not mean that the lowlanders of Paucartambo "were innocent of all aggression; the raid of 1576, the killings of 1770, and Ampuero's death are all reasonably well documented" (Lyon n.d.b: 7). But, overall, those native to the area had in large part already "either been removed to other parts of the empire or ... retired outside the valleys below the head of navigation" (Ibid.: 21; see also Molina 1907 [1753]: 222; Villanueva 1982: 258).

The crown renewed its general interest in the lowlands in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Lyon suggests that this may explain why, despite the decrease in the number of haciendas by that time, an increase in production figures may be noted by an author such as Mörner (1977; Lyon n.d.b). The Harakmbut's southern frontier also became a focus of interest in and of itself during this period. Upon the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Peru, the neighboring Urubamba valley was penetrated by Franciscans from the Colegio de Moquegua, while their counterpart from the Province of San Antonio de los Charcas in La Paz, Bolivia, argued with them over who had the right to work in the Madre

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de Dios region. Up to that time missionaries had worked in Madre de Dios through no more than individual efforts, although more systematic work had been undertaken by the Jesuits among populations to the east, in the Urubamba valley of Cusco, and by the Franciscans to the west, in the Caupolicán or Apolobamba missions to the north of La Paz (see, e.g., Armentia 1887; Izaguirre 1925; Maúrtua 1907 (6), (5); Mendizábal 1932; Menéndez 1965; Rey y Boza 1899; Sábate 1877; Torres 1972). The shifting perspectives on the part of the state concerning religious missions which, in 1900, culminated with the assignment of the Dominicans to the Madre de Dios and Urubamba river basins, will be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Until the turn of the nineteenth century, then, one can speak of three sources of external influence upon the Harakmbut. The first two, of a more systematic although indirect nature, centered upon the production of coca leaves and the extraction of gold in the Q'osñipata and Carabaya regions. The third, a rather more subtle process, revolved around a number of separate entrances by both individuals or groups fleeing from the Spanish colonial system, and missionaries seeking to establish religious posts with little, if any, infrastructural support (see, e.g., Alvarez 1906 [1645]: 160).

The kind of impact these people had remains unclear. It is unknown whether they carried with them particular cultural traits or diseases that could have affected the lives of native peoples in the area. We can assume the limited economic impact of such 'marginal' persons, to the extent that they do not appear to have succeeded in introducing any such concern, and have generally been part of a process of break-

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ing away from the prevailing colonial political economic system In political terms, they could have had some impact upon the internal native processes of alliance-formation and feuding. Access to knowledge concerning outside diseases or politics and goods or services could have had added influence. But this does no more than help explain why some outsiders might have been welcomed rather than cast out altogether.

The isolated cases reported in the literature - which, again, describe, above all, the activities of the Spanish as opposed to highland Indians - suggest that such outsiders when not eliminated were assimilated by lowlanders. It may be that these people account, whether directly or indirectly, for some of those individuals who in the colonial period requested from the lowlands the presence of missionaries (see, e.g., Flores 1906 [1777]: 210). Reports indicate that those priests and individuals who could contribute in various ways to the problems encountered by a given population were allowed to stay and form part of everyday life in the lowlands (see, e.g., Carrillo 1906 [1678]: 1-33; Llanos y Vergara 1906 [1769]: 164-71).

It is thus likely that until the end of the eighteenth century the Harakmbut may have been exposed to some loss of territory in the fringes of their region while a number of individuals and groups passed through their area without producing major disruptions. They were, then, seemingly able to sustain a relative degree of political and economic self-sufficiency in the colonial context (see, e.g., Maúrtua 1907 (5): 123-238; Rey y Boza 1899). If any epidemic reached them, however, we do not know what its impact may have been. We can suspect that if their dis-

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persed pattern of settlement dates back to that period and they held the practice of dispersing upon someone's death or severe illness, as other lowland groups still do, it is likely that they were not as severely affected by existing epidemics as groups elsewhere (see, e.g., Denevan 1980b; Santos n.d. notes, for example, that it was primarily when lowlanders were concentrated in mission stations during the colonial period that epidemics resulted in dramatic increases in mortality).

The nature of the Harakmbut's incorporation into the dominant political economy partially explains the lack of a concerted effort by missionaries and colonial authorities in the region. Geopolitical and economic priorities helped produce a different attitude on colonial authorities elsewhere, thus influencing their consequent support of missionary activities. The following chapter thus analyzes the external support that may define those contexts where systematic missionary efforts emerge and develop.

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Chart 2

MAIN ENTRANCES TO HARAKMBUT TERRITORY THROUGH THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Years	Entrance	Area
1473-5	Topa Inca	Q'osñipata
1538	Pedro de Candia	Paucartambo, Carabaya
1538-9	Pedro Anzures de Campo Redondo	Sandia, Carabaya
1551	Arana	Carabaya
1555	Inca Manco Wayllo	Q'osñipata
1561	Gómez de Tordoya	Q'osñipata (Tono river)
1561-3	Juan Nieto	Carabaya
1567-8	Gómez de Tordoya	Camata
1567-9	Juan Alvarez Maldonado	Amarumayo (Mdre de Dios) river
1568	Pedro Maldonado, Antonio Rojas	Madre de Dios
1568	Juan Alvarez Maldonado with Manuel Escobar	Madre de Dios, Carabaya
1568-9	Alvarez	Cuzco, Carabaya
1580	Francisco Pasis	Marcapata
1592	Simón Pérez de Torres	Paguarbamba (Paucartambo)
1594-5	Miguel Cabello Balboa	Camata
1595	Various Spanish	Camanti, Carabaya
1595-6	Urrea	Camata
1615	Leagui	Camata
1615	Quiñones Frisancho	Carabaya
1622	Cárdenas y Francisca	Camata
1661	Domingo Alvarez de Toledo (priest)	Carabaya
1677	Bartolomé Zumeta and Ojeda (priests)	Carabaya

Sources: García 1905; Saignes 1981; Villasante 1975; Werlich 1968

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CHAPTER 3

THE APPEARANCE OF RELIGIOUS EMISARIES

In this chapter I shall consider the context of emergence of the representatives of any given deity as those moments when proselytizing is involved; that is, when the representatives of a deity arrive in order to spread a given message or task. The focus is on the processes that accompany the appearance of the missionizing representatives of a deity, viewed not as a 'natural' or inherent attribute of religious beliefs, but as a social phenomenon calling forth a corresponding level of analysis. While this discussion will regard missions in general, the phenomenon of religious proselytism is historically confined to Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, with the process most systematically developed by Christianity.

Two approaches can be taken in the analysis of this process. In the first, the relationship between missionization and its context of emergence is considered in an ill- or loosely-defined and unproblematic manner. The relationships guiding interaction between a proselytizing agent and the broader set of circumstances in which his activities originate assume secondary importance. The missionary's capacity to remain sympathetic to everyone (Bonk 1980); the type of donating culture involved (Marzal 1983); or a damaging though unspecified Western cultural context (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972) are among the ways in which it may be referred to.

The following excerpt crystallizes this first and generalized

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interrelationship between the development of missions and their context of emergence:

> The missionary impulse derives from the idea that a specific religion possesses universal validity and from the consciousness of a spiritual or moral obligation to transmit its precepts. Since missions are by definition agencies for peaceful propagation, aiming to convert by teaching and persuasion, they are feasible only when the content of a religion is sufficiently independent of a particular ethnical or national institutional complex so that its diffusion may be conceived as an end distinct from political expansion. Through our history missions have been frequently concommitant with such expansion or facilitated by it, but their very existence implies that the propagation of religion is considered a separate process requiring special emisaries and techniques. Where this conception is lacking, the dissemination of a religion, irrespective of its claim to universality, tends to become contingent upon more or less adventitious environmental factors (Latourette 1968: 536).

As will be progressively argued, this latter interrelationship between the spread of a religion and its political context of diffusion cannot be considered a fortuitous event.

Such perspectives may be viewed as idealist in a broad sense, in so far as they disregard the interdependent developments of a religion's material context of diffusion and social impact. They reveal existing correspondences, when at all, as 'changes which were already in the air' in unspecified ways, and amid which the representatives of the deity emerged as catalysts.

The second and alternative approach includes a definition, whether implicit or explicit, of the elements considered key in those contexts where religious proselytizers thrive. Emphasis will be placed on this second approach with a discussion of the importance for the development of proselytizing efforts of: (1) non-religious factors making for wider communication; (2) symbols to cope with changes in politi--

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cal interaction; and (3) a weak presence of state structures where missions thrive.

It is important to start out by noting, however, that the correspondences that may exist on a social plane are unlikely to proceed mechanically or along direct lines. For example, Tawney's observation that with the reformation the secular and sacred aspects of society became formally separated, gives rise to more than just a fair warning:

> Religion has [now] been converted from the keystone which holds together the social edifice into one department within it and the idea of a rule of right is replaced by economic expediency as the arbiter of policy and the criterion of conduct. ...
>
> The result is an attitude which forms so fundamental a part of modern political thought, that both its precarious philosophical basis, and the contrast which it offers with the conceptions of earlier generations, are commonly forgotten. Its essence is a dualism which regards the secular and the religious aspects of life, not as successive stages within a larger unity, but as parallel and independent provinces, governed by different laws, judged by different authorities (1960: 228).

The diffusion of a religion through missionary activity requires that its recurrent ties with given secular processes be analyzed. Furthermore, the very existence of a division between the sacred and secular forecasts the type of context in which the missionizing representatives of deities emerge. Yet unraveling the set of relations that this may entail is complex (Colonna 1974), for the subject and object of study have become so profoundly set apart as to be assumed unquestionably by most of Western modern thought.

Non-religious Communication

The separate contexts of emergence and development are, as will be

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progressively discussed, prerequisites of proselytizing activities. This may be initially considered in relationship to the social processes that accompany those shifts in the incorporation of a given group into the wider society amid which missions often thrive.

In so far as missionaries seek to transcend their own communities, they become involved in a development analogous to what has been referred to by Van Binsbergen, in discussing religious subsystems, as regional cults:

> ... the geographical area over which the cult spreads is transformed into a region. What structures a cult's region is thus the processes of interlocal communication, interaction and distribution which the cult gives rise to. By contrast, the second type covers cults which I shall call non-regional. A cult of this type, too, has a specific cult idiom which is pursued by a number of congregations. However, although it may have spread over a vast area, it has not yet transformed the area into a region of its own or it has ceased to do so and a former region has become merely a non-regional area (1977: 141-2).

It is proposed, then, that cults which spread over a vast area stem from efforts to cope with the realities of inter- and intra-local relations. As such, they may be said to address, in a first level of analysis, extra-religious social processes which may either integrate or disintegrate a region under given circumstances.

That a religion may become "an interpretative and legitimizing structure" (Ibid.: 160) does not contradict the need to treat the conceptual shift being brought about as occurring in all but a power vacuum. Van Binsbergen explains the latter clearly while offering a hypothesis about what may be considered essential in this regard:

> Every regional cult seems to face a dual problem. On the one hand, it has to develop a distinct, specific

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cultic idiom (in terms of both ideology and ritual). On the other hand, it requires a formal organizational structure which shares out ritual authority sufficiently widely among officials to enable them to cover an entire region, whilst retaining these officials within an authority legitimizing structure of such effectiveness as to prevent them from either breaking away from the cult or within its organization, pursuing too deviant an idiom. The dialectical process in which solutions for this problem are worked out with varying success, is determined by a number of factors. In addition to personality traits and interpersonal relationships of the personnel involved, crucial factors appear to be of two kinds. First, the specific nature of a cult's organizational devices to a large extent determines its chances of survival as a regional cult. Secondly, these organizational devices are partly determined by the structural characteristics which obtain in the geographical area that the cult is to transform into a region. My argument suggests the importance, among these structural characteristics of the region, of demographic patterns and of the occurrence, besides the cult in question, of other religious and non-religious formal, interlocal organizations (*Ibid.*: 172-173; emphasis added).

Explaining this further, he stresses that:

The demographic situation has important implications for the regional cults. Where population density is low ..., the creation of local congregations and the maintenance of interlocal ties between them poses serious problems in terms of the number of people available, transport, and communications in general. The factional nature of the non-regional cults of affliction is partly explicable in this light. Similar problems play a much smaller role in densely populated areas and *a fortiori* in towns.

More important perhaps, the demographic differences reveal a socio-structural difference between the situation of the typical Nzila adepts. Bituma caters for a stagnated peasantry whose experience with urban living may be considerable (due to labor migration), but whose prime identification and source of economic and social security is the village. Modern institutions and particularly formal, bureaucratic organizations in the political and economic sphere do penetrate from the

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> metropolitan and national centres into the peripheral village scene, and determine the villager's lives to an ever increasing extent. But these institutions and organizations, with physical outlets at the district centres mainly, are seldom visible at the village scene. Their impact on rural life does not imply that the villagers frequently participate in them or identify with them - quite the contrary. Debarred from substantial economic and political participation in the wider national context, the people in the Bituma region see themselves primarily as part of an economic and political order whose major concerns and transactions refer to local, largely precapitalist, historical structures. Bureaucratic organizations set, from a distance, the narrow confines for the local social process but do not play a prominent role in the participant's subjective lifeworld. And it is primarily from the latter that we can hope to expect a solution to the problem of differential adoption of religious forms ... (Ibid.: 167-169).

Van Binsbergen may thus be said to hypothesize that the limited scope of non-regional cults corresponds to that of other non-regional organizational structures. These, despite the existence of external political and economic forces that may largely determine life conditions from afar, are most closely contingent, in a second level of analysis, upon demographic factors. Population density accounts not only for the reduced range of quotidian social interaction and communication, but for religious organization or cultic level as well.

Horton's 'Intellectualist Theory' suggests again the importance of factors leading to wider communication in the development of religious conversion (1975). In his words, "we are faced with an unambiguous link between microcosmic dissolu-

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tion and a switch from lesser spirits to supreme being" (Ibid.: 231). This for him entails, however, more than just an increase of people or of spatial horizons:

> For centuries farmers, rulers, and merchants lived in more or less peaceful partnership. Their accord was strikingly reflected on the religious plane. As everywhere else in the savannas, farmers were Pagan, rulers 'mixing,' and merchants purist Muslims. But no pagan thought of questioning a Muslim's religious observance; and no Muslim - even a holy man - thought of trying to 'convert' the Pagans.
>
> By the middle of the nineteenth century however, this peaceful accord was beginning to break down (Ibid.: 387).

He adds:

> It has been estimated that in the fifty years of colonial rule Islam made more progress than it had in the previous thousand years ... despite the fact that the colonial governments ... were not explicitly concerned to propagate the faith ... with the advent of colonial rule and its sequels, there was a sudden replacement of numerous relatively small polities with a few much larger units, a dramatic improvement in communications, and a rapid increase in the importance of the commercial as opposed to the subsistence sector of the economy (Ibid.: 392-393).

Horton's statements, like Van Binsbergen's, signal at a first level of analysis the importance of changing inter- and intra-local relationships in those contexts under which conversion is able to proceed. This point has been discussed in addition, though to differing extents, by Bolton (1917), Boutilier, et al. (1978), Costas (1977), Hutchinson (1957), Hvalkof and Aaby (1981), Muratorio (1980), Nida (1958), Rich (1970),

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Rigby (1981), Salamone (1976), and Taylor (1981), among others. As several of these scholars also demonstrate, however, there is a pressing need to consider, in a second instance, the redistribution of power, or hegemonic developments, that may accompany or be involved in the process of religious diffusion; in particular, the conflicts and readjustments which may form part of the re-ordering of social groups in such circumstances. The development of ties of common origin, or of nation-building and state-consolidation in such contexts, furthermore, appear to be of key importance and to co-occur frequently with conversion and lie at the base of the transition from mission to Church (see, for example, Bottasso 1982; Muratorio 1982; Rich 1970, among other sources mentioned above).

Symbols in the Development of Nation-states

When disparate communities of people confront each other in the context of expanding state structures, common values which may aid communication prove essential. Religious proselytism, like secular ideological hegemonic processes, seemingly emerges and flourishes not only when such communities face each other on unequal terms but, more importantly, when the consolidating nation-states require political control of the distinct communities within their borders.

Nonetheless, the interrelationship between religious

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proselytism and consolidating state structures is not necessarily formally structured. Yet, as expressed by Salamone, one may initially consider that "where an established religion is associated with the government in a situation of ethnic pluralism and stratification, that government is likely to exert pressure to bring about the conversion of [the] other ethnic groups" (1980: 395). In other words, if "the government does not pursue a strong policy of change, groups are free to choose alternate means for promoting their interests" (Ibid.: 401). This observation is similar to Muratorio's, when she argues that mature capitalism (as in the case of Ecuador studied by her) always attempts to "establish its ideological hegemony in rural areas of third world countries, where previous ideological traditions are still part of the dynamics of everyday practices" (1980: 39; see also Rus and Wasserstrom 1981). In each case, converts to Catholicism, like Islamic converts, are thus expected to change their interaction patterns in addition to their religious practices and beliefs upon conversion (Salamone 1980: 399). That is, cultural symbols do not only articulate social relationships in these circumstances, but may signify changes in them as well (Ibid.: 402).

The political realignment of social groups introduces, then, a corresponding need for communication processes that may not only help signal such realignments, but also remain

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informed by them. That is:

> Nations, like other complex societies, must possess cultural forms or mechanisms which groups involved in the same overall web of relationships can use in their formal or informal dealings with each other. Such forms develop historically, hand in hand with other processes which lead to the formation of nations, and social groups which are caught up in these processes must become 'acculturated' to their usage (Wolf 1979: 112).

It is similarly pointed out by Tawney that:

> ... the condition of effective action in a complex civilization is agreement, both as to ends to which effort should be applied and the criteria by which its success is to be judged.
>
> [That is,] Agreement as to ends implies the acceptance of a standard of values, by which the position to be assigned to different objects may be determined (1960: 232).

While such 'agreement' may not be entirely consensual, nor the cultural means of communication mutually understood in the same way, the symbols must exist as a type of 'currency,' as it were, for social exchange to occur on a continued basis.

Religious Missions and Unconsolidated State Structures

The relationships between missionaries and other members of a given nation state that tend to be established on a local level are often conflictive and contentious. While those being evangelized may not necessarily distinguish missionaries from government administrators or settlers, they may commonly find themselves at odds with each other in

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a given field site (see, e.g., Beidelman 1982; Hahn 1981; Hughes 1978; Phelan 1967). As missionaries tend to work in contexts constituting 'social' frontiers, with unclearly delineated political and ideological terms of interaction, one can expect that nation-state formal structures will not be present in full force. Thus, despite the correspondences that may exist between the diffusion of a religion and an expanding state structure, the very peripheral context in which such interaction is most likely to occur may account for the informal or indirect, and at times hostile and uncertain, expression of this interrelationship on-the-ground.

In discussing relations in complex societies, Wolf presents a hypothesis that offers a way out from this apparent contradiction by suggesting that:

> ...[complex] societies are not as well organized and tightly knit as their spokesmen would on occasion like to make people believe. If we analyze their economic systems, we shall find in any one such society resources and organizations set up to utilize these strategic resources - but we shall also find resources and organizations which are at best supplementary or wholly peripheral. If we drew these relations on a map, some areas would show strong concentrations of strategic resources and the accompanying core organizations; other areas would appear in grey or white, economic terra incognita from the point of view of the larger system. The same point may be made with regard to political control. There are political resources which are essential to the operation of the system, and the system will try to remain in control of these. But there are also

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> resources and organizations which it would be either too costly or too difficult to bring under direct control, and in these cases the system yields its sovereignty to competitive groups that are allowed to function in its entrails ... [thus] we must not confuse the theory of state sovereignty with the facts of political life. Many organizations within the state generate and distribute and control power, in competition with each other and with the sovereign power of the state ... the formal framework of economic and political power exists alongside or intermingled with various other kinds of informal structure which are interstitial, supplementary, parallel to it ... Sometimes such informal groupings cling to the formal structure like barnacles to a rusty ship. At other times, informal social relations are responsible for the metabolic processes required to keep the formal institution operating, as in the case of armies locked in combat. In still other cases, we discover that the formal table of organization is elegant indeed, but fails to work, unless informal mechanisms are found for its direct contravention.
>
> The anthropologist has a professional license to study such interstitial, supplementary, and parallel structures in complex society and to expose their relation to the major, strategic, overarching institution. ...
>
> We must not, of course, picture the structures of complex society as an ordered anarchy. The informal structures ... are supplementary to the system: they operate and exist by virtue of its existence, which is logically, if not temporally, prior to them (1977: 167-168).

Missions, while a part of wider formal structures, indeed operate mainly where core organizations are either absent or functioning poorly. They often complement the formal core political organizational mode or structures. Despite their possible supranational origin and support, missions may therefore constitute one such informal mechanism of a working complex society which thrives on

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those informal political economic processes whereby nation-states are consolidated and the transition from mission to Church is set in motion.

The context of emergence of the representatives of a deity must first be considered, then, in relation to the political realignments which may follow upon given changes in inter- and intra-local patterns of communication and interaction. Of particular importance in this regard is the additional presence of those efforts which contribute to expand or consolidate a given nation-state. While these two forces are widely noted in the literature, their interrelation, as has been seen, is not entirely and satisfactorily explained in its own terms. At the same time, account must be taken of those social relations which act as underlying referents of the religious messages or tasks. That is, beyond the contradictions that may exist on a local level between missionaries and other members of a given nation-state both may, at times, stand united ultimately in a larger sense. It all depends on who is setting the terms of the referents in the messages that are propelled through missionary efforts, and to what ends (see, e.g., Hahn 1981). Rigby gives an example of this among East African pastoralists, where:

> ... the identity of interests between missionary, settler, and administration was explicable in terms of their common commitment to nineteenth- and then twentieth-century bourgeois values engendered by the devel-

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> opment of capitalist society in Europe and America. ... But to Ilparakuyo and Maasai there was a difference, in that the settlers and administration did not, on the whole, preach one thing and do another, [while] the missionaries did. The ideological discourse of the missionaries was in flagrant contradiction to their behavior in conspiring with the settlers and government to defraud the pastoralists, and even the Western education so eagerly seized upon by other East Africans turned out to be 'education to work for the white man,' ultimately a denial of the unity of pastoral praxis and ideology in an egalitarian social formation (1981: 121-122).

The case in point speaks to the issue in Rigby's discussion.

Proselytizing may initially be seen as one informal mechanism in the consolidation of social relations within complex societies containing disparate and clashing ideologies, power structures, and modes of existence. That is, conflicting cultural ideologies and practices can obstruct the development of cultural homogeneity and the introduction of alternate civilizational schemes where full force core state organizations are not present. Moreover, as suggested by Lanternari, external pressures for change may often trigger such processes of spiritual search (1963).

It is suggested that the passage from traditional to world religion stands related, structurally and historically, to political developments which also shift the locus of everyday power relations in a process often equated with the acquisition of interaction patterns termed 'civilized.' Where disparate

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'cultural' groups are the object of the missionary endeavor, a recurrent theme will be the acculturation of such groups to a given national structure (see, for example, Chevalier 1982; Marzal 1973; Rich 1970; Stoll 1982). Religious proselytism or imposition must, as a result, be placed initially in the context of larger hegemonic processes, while bearing in mind that this, in and of itself, will not determine either the course or the outcome of the missionary endeavor.

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CHAPTER 4

THE PERUVIAN NATION-STATE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MISSIONS IN MADRE DE DIOS

The end of the eighteenth century in the viceroyalty of Peru witnessed developments which, maturing slowly although interruptedly in the course of the nineteenth century, climaxed at the beginning of the twentieth century with the systematic encouragement of religious missions throughout the Peruvian Amazon. These developments bear themes which lie at the base of the origin of twentieth century efforts at evangelization in the Amazon and of many persisting issues which have been addressed in the process ever since. These are illustrated at some length in the following quote:

> The Peruvian Catholics, desirous of uniting together in a General Assembly which would initiate the ever fruitful works of active propaganda, and at the same time make manifest the number of those who follow the shining trail of the standard of Christianity, conceived the worthy and by all means grandiose project of organizing a Catholic Congress, within which they would discuss the most effective means of building the well-being of the nation, solidly establishing the national government and ensuring that the conservative society, which always reforms and constructs, should improve its conditions of existence ...
>
> The Peruvian Catholics, before 1896, were dispersed, they worked without doubt for the support of their principles, but being isolated their labors could not, by the very nature and conditions of the human struggles, produce all the beneficial influence which it was hoped to obtain from them. ...
>
> ... these considerations gave rise to the installation in Lima in November 1896 of the Congress, as assembly which combined among its members the most notable elements of Peruvian society in intellectual, social and political terms. ...
>
> ... no debate was more important than that which related to the establishment of the Missions in the East of the Republic, which although it lost Tarapacá nevertheless possesses in the jungle riches which could provide a considerable income. ...

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The Catholic Union of Women requested to be granted the tribulations of initiating this work, and perspicacious souls, considering the merits of this feminine association, which has earned many honorary titles due to the innumerable benefits which it has distributed among the children of the people, readily make available to them all the elements they disposed of (admittedly reduced) with the aim of invigorating the nerve of the new enterprise.

The Catholic Unión of Women deliberates in detail the best way in which time should be employed, and as a result of the collective discussions another feminine society springs up, placing at its head a group of virtuous young ladies, and dedicated itself fully to the furtherance of its humanitarian aims, its golden coat of arms inscribed in appropriate letters with its attractive name: Work of Propagation of the Faith in the East of Peru. ...

In the knowledge that money is the mainspring of all human business, the members of the "Propagation of the Faith" dedicates their first efforts to the obtaining of the pecuniary means which the Missions required for their formation; and for this purpose they appointed collectors of hundreds and tens, whose obligations were none other than to request charitable donations from the persons who lived within their respective districts, showing them in detail the nature of the Work and its disinterested aims.

... the small amount of individual incomes, which on their own are virtually insignificant, leads to the formation, together with other individual elements, of a collective fund of considerable proportions; the amount of each donation is not so important, ... the collectors should concern themselves primarily with the number of such contributions ...

The government of His Excellency Señor Don Nicolás de Piérola in a gesture which is to his honor, gave decided protection to the generous impulses of the Propagation. ...

... the Missionaries not only concern themselves with the religious question, but also with the social, economic, scientific and political progress of the country. ...

The Missionaries travel to unknown places, where constitutional guarantees exercise no influence whatsoever, due to the lack of knowledge and the absolute lack of authority ... when they trustingly enter the miserable huts of a savage group, to show them Christ the Savior, they are often killed, at the beginning of the feasts of these barbarous peoples, in order to arouse their appetite and as distraction for their sanguinary leisure.

What should be done to diminish their suffering? To send money for them to build solid dwellings and construct mystic chapels, so that they may change their robes, and offer attractive trinkets to the unbelievers, in order to allay their fears;

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the opening up of roads, the construction of bridges and the purchase of rafts and canoes, all this requires considerable sums of money and expenses. The three thousand soles annually assigned to "Propagation of the Faith" by the government are insignificant for the purpose of sustaining the three Prefectures of Missions which have been established in the East; when we enumerate the expenses (mentioning only those which are indispensable) we are left with not inconsiderable deficit.

Peru owns vast uncivilized territories which it is necessary to populate with healthy and moral workers, in order to facilitate the building of new towns; and if our political ideal is the total colonization of the country, there is no body better constituted to achieve this than the Missionaries, superior men who combine priestly resignation and meekness with the highest civil virtues (Castelar y Cobián 1902: 213-22; original in Spanish).

Religious Missions in the Colonial Period

If the period prior to the turn of the eighteenth century in the Harakmbut's southern frontier witnessed but few and isolated missionary entrances, all of which failed to concentrate and much less religiously or otherwise convert them, this was not the case in other parts of the Amazon. The Jesuit efforts to the north and south, that is, in Mainas and Moxos, are still held up as illustrious examples of religious proselytism during the colonial period. Whether in fact people were converted spiritually in addition to temporally is sometimes debated, but in the second type of realm, 'converts' are noted to have been affected indeed (e.g., Furneaux 1969; Marzal 1984, 1983). Franciscan efforts in the central Peruvian and northern Bolivian lowlands were sustained significantly through a number of years, even when their degree of social impact is sometimes questioned (see, e.g., Lehnertz 1974). On a reduced or regional level, these differences help introduce and highlight some of the conditions which later, at the end of the nine-

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teenth century, appear at the base of the wider scale efforts which culminate in a common political framework for the development of missionary work applied throughout the Amazon.

It has been previously suggested that proselytizing efforts arise, first, in a context of changing inter- and intra-local relations where, second, a need exists to replace numerous small polities with few larger ones, hence occasioning a redistribution of power within a broader hegemonic process. Analyzing briefly the development of missionary activity within the Peruvian Amazon during the colonial period, some of the regional differences noted above can be explained before entering into a somewhat fuller discussion of the processes underlying the emergence of present-day missionary efforts.

One could argue that the events that took place during the colonial period in the Harakmbut's southern frontier did not generally call for profound changes in inter- and intra-local relations. It is likely that some Harakmbut groups may have distanced themselves spatially from colonial economic activities and some outside groups entered their area fleeing from colonial pressures. But Spaniards maintained themselves in overall terms - if not necessarily intentionally or out of choice - within the spatial and social boundaries developed by the Inca for both the production of coca leaves (in the area of Q'osñipata) and extraction of gold (in the Carabaya region).

The populations and areas involved in these activities were largely a part of the Inca system and may not have, for this reason, presented the high-priority set of circumstances that led Spaniards to seek the systematic support of missionaries elsewhere in the incorporation of lowlanders.

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Although there is reference in the literature to conflicts with the highlanders brought to the area (as a result of the labor and health conditions they were forced to endure in the lowlands), particularly in the coca producing areas, the extent to which this may have led to the presence of priests remains unclear. Lowlanders expressed hostility before the expeditions which penetrated into their region by responding with attacks. But, in the end, and to the extent that no viable motive was found for the development of a means of continued interaction with them, missionary activity in the area was never seriously fostered throughout the colonial period. If the Harakmbut were ever sought for particular duties, this in all likelihood took place in relatively equitable terms - to the extent that no means of coercion existed or could be developed.

Changes in inter- and intra-local relations were, however, either taking place or considered as potentially capable of occurring in significant ways in the northern and central Amazon. While in both instances the Spaniards' concern with, and support of, missionary activity in the area was primarily for geopolitical considerations, i.e., centered about the potential expansion of Luso-Brazilians into territories said to belong to the Spanish Crown, it was only along the region to the north that inter- and intra-local relations were in fact altered for lowlanders as a result of slave raids. Thus, while geopolitical concerns helped to uphold missionary activity in the central and northern Peruvian Amazon, missions became relatively more firmly established in the latter context.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, the part that would be played by the Amazon region in the larger colonial context began to be perceived differently. At the same time, the Amazon's rôle in

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in both the colonial and international orders was increasingly modified in concrete terms. While there were a number of ties between these processes, they also responded to independent internal and external developments that contributed to define the end of the colonial period, and the nature of the state that emerged upon independence from Spain in 1821.

After the demographic decline that set in with the Spanish conquest, the highland population began to grow again about the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same time the Spanish colonial system as a whole became increasingly subject to the challenges posed by the rise of alternate European powers. Among the latter, England began to dominate trade routes, thereby posing a threat to Spanish commerce. England's industrial production of textiles also began to compete advantageously with indigenous artisan production, finally swamping the market through contraband.

The response to the number of political economic concerns surrounding these internal and external developments resulted in a number of different, although intertwined, social processes at the local, regional, viceroyal, and European levels. Some of the more salient events are relatively well known in Latin American historiography. From a political angle, they include the Jenkins War between England and Spain and the presence of British ships along the Pacific coast, war between Spain and Portugal, the Bourbon Reforms, the colonial sub-division of the viceroyalty of Peru into three viceroyalties and a number of Audiencias, and the expulsion of the Jesuit Order. Within the colony, widespread indigenous revolts took place throughout both a great part of the central

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Amazon, under the guidance of the cusqueño Juan Santos Atahualpa, and the central highlands, of which that commanded by Túpac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) is generally considered the most significant.

Of economic consequence were the decline of the silver producing Potosí mines and the increased importance of the minerals extracted from the Cerro de Pasco region. The use of wealth for economic accumulation in the circulation as opposed to production sphere also grew. Hence, the ascendant number and importance of merchants and commerce in general augmented the demands placed on peasants to render tribute in labor and money and meet the expenses of the distribution of imported goods forced upon them in their communities. Progressively, many chose to flee their places of origin, only to help engorge the population of the new mining centers, haciendas, or urban settlements.

These political and economic developments signalled an end to the processes through which the Spanish attempted to monopolize the trade of its colonies. Bursting at the seams of the colonial system, such events expressed a conflicting reality in which, neither in economic or social terms, could the Spanish order hold any longer within its bounds the mechanisms that had accounted for its closed local political existence. Yet, in curiously reciprocal ways, in the end, not only did the colonies insert themselves more directly in the larger political economic order, thus bypassing the Spanish crown, but this larger order increasingly dominated the ensuing developments within the colonies, thus setting the foundations for a new neo-colonial economic order which would slowly crystallize through the nineteenth century.

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The dawn of this new order, cast intellectually in the context of the European Enlightenment, led many creoles and mestizos to a naively optimistic perception of their own potentials and resources in ways that ended by calling into question the entire fabric of Spanish control. Yet to the extent that the underlying means of support of this fabric - peasant labor and resources - were rarely called into question, the select choice of social actors directly involved in the definition of the parts that might now be played, marked all subsequent developments.

Who and what defined the model for Latin America's future project set parameters for the processes to affect the Amazon region as well. The notion underlying the Paititi myth - of a land of unlimited plenty amid an Amazonian green hell - was redefined to include its potential to yield 'agricultural' sources of wealth through its 'endlessly' varied and abundant natural resources. At the same time, the positivist social ideal of European progress led to the definition of the underlying obstacles in the realization of this potential as something inherent in indigenous social character. Europeans were, in this light, considered as 'naturally' better able to put potential sources of wealth into productive use. This racist assumption anticipated the subsequent efforts made between the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to bring in European immigrants (e.g., Cáceres 1925).

Influenced by the period of Enlightenment, in the latter part of the eighteenth century and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, first Latin Americans and then Europeans explored, identified, and exploited Amazonian resources. The studies that stimulated the economic incursions into the Amazon provoked the plunder of Amazonian resources -

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as opposed to their creative or rationally sustained use, as they propounded. Although noted at the time, such plunder generally made no difference to those people who actually stood behind the exploration of such resources yet whose survival and interests remained secure elsewhere.

Peruvian bark or chinchona, and for a short period gold, became the focus of extractive concerns in the Peruvian Amazon. Except for in a few regions, agricultural practices were held at nearly zero growth, despite increasing consciousness of the need to develop them as a condition of effective occupation or colonization of the Amazon. This focalized penetration of the Amazon along particular routes, except where means of communication made colonization possible (e.g., in the Tarma and Huallaga regions). Such routes were, at times, in part a result of prior missionary activity.

Werlich summarizes well some of the expressions of these developments in the Amazon toward the end of the colonial period:

> The scientific revival in Peru was only one aspect of the blossoming of a cult of progress in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The search for 'useful knowledge,' and its application in economically beneficial ways pervaded much of the upper strata of Peruvian society. The Montaña received renewed attention from government, businessmen, and from the Church. The atmosphere of optimism so characteristic of the sixteenth century returned, and in the twilight of Spain's rule in America, it seemed that a new day was dawning for the Montaña.
>
> The Crown had shown little interest in the Montaña since the sixteenth century. Its conquest was entrusted to private citizens and private capital, and minimal support was given the missionaries. Important Montaña products were burdened with special taxes [e.g., aguardiente, salt, cocoa, and tabacco].
>
> In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, this long period of neglect came to an end, and the Crown became actively interested in the economic development of the Montaña. Government sponsored colonization and road building programs

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> were begun, and for the first time, the king made serious attempts to provide his subject in eastern Peru with adequate police protection. Montaña products were still handicapped by special taxes, but the government was willing to furnish colonists with land, food, tools, and seeds and exempt them from the alcabala, the burdensome turnover tax on all sales (1968: 270, 272).

Thus, not only political developments - whether of internal nature, such as the Juan Santos Atahualpa revolt, or external origin, such as boundary pressures by Brazil, contributed to the new focus on colonization:

> There were also positive [economic] reasons for developing the Montaña. Throughout the Spanish New World in the eighteenth century, the products of the fields and forests comprised an ever increasing share of colonial exports, and more and more, the Crown came to appreciate the value of the non-mining sectors of the American economy. In Peru, the encouragement of agriculture was specially important because that colony had been unable to feed itself since the seventeenth century. Food was expensive, particularly in the mining centers. The memorias of the late eighteenth century viceroys and the papers of their subordinates demonstrate that the lowlands beyond the Andes were thought to be rich potential sources of foodstuffs and exportable commodities. Now and then, there are references to the gold believed to exist in the region, but typical is the statement of Governor Juan José Avellá Fuentes of Tarma that the produce of the lands of the Montaña would be far more valuable than all of the fabled El Dorados (Ibid.: 273-4).

Missionaries, who up to that time had found colonists a disruptive force, also began to recognize the meaning of the combined presence of colonists and commerce for the development of their work (Ibid.: 274-5).

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The Development of the Peruvian Nation-state

Consciousness of the need to colonize the Amazon emerged at the end of the eighteenth century and reached fruition in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was both a response to and at the same time remained limited by the specific problems that provoked it.

The development of international commerce in the Spanish colonies not only affected the balance in the realignments of inter- and intra-local modes of interaction underway but, in affecting the content of many of these realignments, altered their very nature. Thus, in the newly formed Peruvian Republic the contending advocates of centralized and decentralized power and rule were now forced to reckon with what was not only an open economy, but a correspondingly weak unconsolidated nation-state. This, coupled with the power vaccum which characterized the aftermath of the wars for independence from Spain meant,a setback in the developments which the colonial state had begun to sponsor along its Amazon frontier:

> Since the days of the Inca emperors, the central government had made important contributions to almost every success in the struggle to open the Montaña. This fact, in part is a reflection of the centralized nature of government in Peru during her recorded history; but it also demonstrates that private individuals and local communities often did not possess the resources needed to overcome obstacles to settlement in the area. During the first two decades of independence, chaos in Lima paralyzed the arm of the Peruvian state along the Amazonian frontier. Laws and programs emanated from the capital, but the government had neither the money nor the political strength needed to transform its wishes into action.
>
> The line of settlement actually receeded in many areas during the turbulent years of the wars of independence and their aftermath (Werlich 1968: 293-4).

Furthermore, missionaries, who were members of the regular clergy, were considered to be an arm of the powers rebelled against (as indeed

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they often, although not always, were), and were largely expelled from the country upon independence from Spain. The regular clergy, in general, was evaluated negatively during this period. The wide prerogatives which contributed to the economic and political power amassed by Church representatives in the colonial period were also cut back.

Beneath the general state of chaos in which the new republic fought to come into existence stood deep structural problems which, to this day, remain unresolved. In what at times seems like a Highland Burmese 'gumsa-gumlao' manifestation of Peru's political history (Leach 1954), an oscillation between advocates of centralized and decentralized power became recurrent in the republic's political life. Underlying these opposing 'views' were conflicting interests and opposing strategies of development - which under a different set of circumstances, also occurred during the colonial period. Regional and provincial powers sought to defend their autonomy in the light of those centripetal efforts which set out to curtail and englobe them. Yet the development projects that arose in the process were not as clear cut as one would have expected - again, perhaps, because more than just political models were at issue (see, e.g., Fernández 1984: 29). Economic processes had to be reckoned with as well.

The wars of independence left the state with none of the economic resources it required for effective action. In the context of an absence of surpluses that might be tapped into - given the social 'disorders' which followed upon independence from Spain (at which time indigenous peoples by and large returned to their own productive activities), and the regional structure of the most significant economic sectors for

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which an international market existed at the time - economic centripetal efforts on the part of the state remained close to totally fruitless.

Given this situation, the prevailing conservative model sought the development of strong state political structures which might centrally channel internal resources. Liberals, in contrast, had a laissez-faire view of political and economic development which upheld the benefits to be derived from free enterprise and direct economic involvement in the international world market. But both models remained inherently unstable. The decentralized distribution of power on-the-ground fluctuated as political coalitions were continuously re-formed through time, in a classic process of caudillo politics, and the international market economy emphasized its demand on such regionally available resources such as guano, nitrates, wool, and chinchona, among others.

To build up its control the state resorted in the second half of the nineteenth century to foreign borrowing, particularly from its chief trading partner, Great Britain. The prevailing caudillo politics, however, led to the squandering of the income received and, hence, to ever greater degrees of indebtedness. The extent to which the Peruvian nation-state remained unconsolidated is illustrated by the War of Pacific in 1879, when each group reacted according to its own interests. The commercial bourgeoisie refused to support the President, who had previously broken up their monopoly on the export of guano. Peasants took the opportunity to rise up against the hacendados, Chinese slaves destroyed a sizable amount of property, and African slaves fought against both the Chinese and hacendados (Cotler 1978: 114-8). Not surprisingly, Peru lost the war.

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The dominant social chaos manifested in this War demanded an urgent political response and an economic strategy to help integrate the nation and meet the by now lagging economic debt. The liberal strategy of laissez-faire, which required the development of routes of communication to a foreign market (thereby bringing export goods closer to their ports of embarkment), was thus set in motion in an effort to meet the concerns mentioned above. British lenders - bondholders - were to be compensated through the privileged use of these routes in addition to the grant of a large land concession in the central jungle. These efforts failed, however, and what is known as the 'Aristocratic Republic' came instead to dominate Peruvian politics nearly uninterruptedly until 1919.

The Emergence of Systematic Missionary Efforts

It is in this political context that religious missions were, for the first time, systematically introduced to the Amazon region. Four lines of development converged in this widespread effort at evangelization: (a) the political structure of the 'Aristocratic Republic;' (b) the response of Rome to the 'Age of Nationalisms;' (c) the economic activities in the Amazon at this time; and (d) the threats posed to Peru's sovereignty in the region by shifting trade routes and, in particular, the opening of the Amazon river to fluvial commerce. These trends contributed to the rationale that sustained the efforts made to colonize the Peruvian Amazon.

Those who subscribed to the 'Aristocratic Republic' stood for the land-based oligarchy and the organic integration of the nation-state in

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which church and government should stand over the lives and interests of all citizens. Both church and army were thus given importance during this period in which economic ascendancy generally derived from the use made of indigenous peoples through non-capitalist production relations. The lack of national integration expressed in Peru to that moment became a chief concern:

> But a new urgency was imparted now due to the fact that the military defeat by Chile could be repeated, or new conflicts generated with other neighboring countries with which border problems persisted, thereby placing in danger the existence of the country and of proprietors. But by the same token due to the urgent need to legitimize the domination of the owning class over the peasantry, it was imperative to 'Peruvianize' the peasants and thus prevent upsurges of ethnic and class rebellion from translating themselves into a massive uprising which would destroy the precarious social order.
>
> For these reasons the ongoing task of the constitution of a nation-state became the center of concern for bourgeois intellectuals at the end of the century, a concern which has been maintained throughout the 20th century as well ...
>
> This national integration presupposed, in the first instance, the firm constitution of a dominant class, politically united, and capable of organizing economy and society by means of state centralization ... it was necessary to create an oligarchy which would be cultured, cohesive, and 'progressive,' that is to say, concerned with assimilating itself to the circuit of international capital; and which, under the direction of a 'strong man' would dictate the terms of social existence ... This ideology, which recognized the incapacity of the dominant class to organize society politically without brutal repression ... coupled liberalism with clerical and patrimonial ideas --- propitiating the establishment of an 'aristocracy of the spirit' which would act behind the wings of a theater occupied by a gendarme, who should forcibly conduct this ignorant mass to their appointed destiny, like a shepherd with his flock. Under the protection of this spiritual aristocracy, the Indian - a disparaging term which included all the people - would be bred into civilization in the understanding that his interests were duly being protected by the ruling class. Only when this process of education had been completed would the Peruvian population possess the necessary conditions to earn the name of citizens.
>
> Thus, by means of the political integration of the owning class, the country would attain the necessary coherence and stability which would permit the - peripheral - insertion of its economy into the international market, and by means of this, the

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> accumulation of capital which in turn would reinforce the political integration of the country around the owning class and the State. In this manner the two cardinal problems would be solved which affected the existence of Peru as a country: the lack of economic resources and political centralization (Cotler 1978: 120-2; original in Spanish).

The economic conditions and requirements of the period resulted in the final neo-colonial incorporation of Peru into the international market economy. The state was thus turned into one of the instruments and vehicles of this relationship, in clear contrast to the period which followed upon the wars of independence, when the commercial bourgeoisie acted throughout on its own and the Church was placed in a marginal position (see, also, Fernández 1984; Morimoto 1979: 20-1).

This period coincided with the fruition of the Vatican's efforts to curtail the upsurge of progressive tendencies in both Europe and Latin America. In the first context, the 'Age of Nationalism' had not only been characterized by a number of developments linked to the growing liberalism and positivism at the time, but by the class struggles which emerged with the development of capitalist industries. In Latin America, the creole secular clergy had become associated with the struggle for independence and increasingly comprised of persons outside the elite- who no longer found it beneficial or prestigious to join the Church, given the curtailment of Church prerogatives which took place in the aftermath of this struggle. The increased proximity to popular concerns which took place, along with the limited nature of the stipends now received from the state, reduced the number of priests, tainting liberalism to those who carried out religious work.

Rome responded by curtailing the approval of religious appointmants

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to those who demonstrated a solid stance before the issue of papal supremacy within the Church which, directly, pushed aside 'liberalists' (Klaiber 1981: 8). With this, such priests themselves began to perceive their membership in the Church as increasingly cumbersome to their efforts to reform social and political conditions of existence (Ibid.: 17). In Klaiber's words:

> ... one phenomenon is readily apparent: the ever more uniform character of the Church, in its mentality, in the formation of the clergy, and in the social composition of the faithful. The pluralism which had characterized the Church during and after Independence (there were some royalists, liberals, and moderates), was largely extinguished, and replaced by an intellectual homogeneity with regard to religion and politics. When the Church broke off its dialog with liberalism, it also alienated from its bosom certain important sectors of the upper and middle classes. From the middle of the century, the terms 'catholic' and 'conservative' began to be identified with one another, on the one hand, and on the other so too did 'liberal' and 'anticlerical.'
>
> The new bourgeoisie of the coastal region which emerged during this period tended to identify itself with liberalism and with its ideological successor, positivism. On the other hand, the petit bourgeoisie, the provincial middle class, and the old upper class families who were now linked to the coastal oligarchy, identified themselves with Catholicism. ... the Church became more sectarian and exclusive in all Latin America ... (Ibid.: 9; original in Spanish).

As a result of all of the above, the:

> ... Church which at the moment of independence had native priests in relative abundance, became a century later a missionary Church. And in the same lapse of time, the Church, which had also been characterized by its creative contributions to culture and thought, was transformed into an institution identified with ever more conservative positions in the face of social and political change (Ibid.: 3; original in Spanish).

In this context:

> ... the new bishops devoted themselves to reorganizing the Church, beginning with the seminaries, which soon felt this change of orientation. Furthermore, the Church managed to obtain for Peru the first missionaries to arrive since Independence, in order to evangelize the central Andean and jungle regions. Thus the Franciscan missionaries came to open up Ocopa again in 1837. Due

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> to their anti-liberal mentality they helped to affirm the dominance of Rome in the Church in those parts of Peru where they worked (Ibid.: 8; original in Spanish).

Finally, two types of regional phenomena - although each with its counterpart in other areas of the country - pressed simultaneously at the end of the nineteenth century toward the 'civil integration' of Peru's population and, more specifically, the efforts to colonize the Peruvian Amazon.

For many regions of the Amazon, the wars of independence had resulted in a political power vaccum, the significance of which depended, in part, on the nature of the economic integration developed to that point. Several native groups thus rebelled and withdrew from participation in the 'national society.' In this they formed part of a wider process, underway throughout the nation, of return - whether peaceful or rebellious - to local and indigenous, although by now transformed, production modes (see, e.g., Aguilar 1896; Villanueva 1981: 147). This retreat fostered the concern with the development of 'military' efforts to penetrate many parts of the Amazon (concerning the advancement of this issue with reference to the Harakmbut, see Bovo de Revello 1889: 7, 52; Göhring 1877: 74-98; Miller 1836).

However, in certain instances the conflicts claimed to exist with native peoples turned out to be a product, above all, of either feared attacks or, again, opportunistic efforts to muster the military support required for the penetration of new areas. It is at this moment, for example, that the Harakmbut were accused of destroying 300 haciendas in Q'osñipata. As mentioned in chapter two, if the number of haciendas declined, it was largely due to the withdrawal from the area of highland

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resources (e.g., mules) and labor. What is certain is that no large number of haciendas existed in the area, even in its most productive phases (Ibid.). Although the Wachipaeri have, through time, resisted various incursions, it appears that in this case they simply occupied those haciendas which had already been abandoned (see, e.g., Espinar 1846: 4).

In contrast, the Harakmbut in the Carabaya area appear to have attacked some settlements and caused significant uncertainty on the frontier. Although some of the areas where gold was being extracted were temporarily abandoned, gold mining was not (save for a brief period in the first half of the nineteenth century and then again at the turn of the twentieth century) the main cause of the incursions or revolts in the area. It appears, rather, that the growing search in Harakmbut territory for chinchona bark may have occasioned the uprisings in the area. This extractive industry required that both extensive territories be covered in search of new sources of bark and that laborers who might do this be found.

While debt-bondage relationships developed based on highland sources of labor, this economy further required not just seasonal work but also the expensive import of foodstuffs (in so far as the territorial displacements that took place in search of chinchona precluded the development of settled agricultural production). The chinchona of this area, claimed to be the best in Peru, must have been an especially intensive and cumbersome enterprise. It is not at all surprising that in response to this and the search for gold, the previously economically unintegrated Harakmbut should have responded with hostility (Basadre 1893; Carbajal 1904: Flores

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Marín 1977b: 101; Markham 1883; Martínez 1969: 83; Rueda 1980: 11, 13).

In some parts of the Amazon more firmly established agricultural activities were strengthened in the periods just before and after the wars of independence. A combination of factors, absent in the Harakmbut's southern frontier, appear to account for this. These include both the existence of markets for given products and such conditions of production as the relative availability of access routes and the versatile displacement in both highland and lowland regions of some native populations.

The renowned tobacco of the area around Jaén had found an early and ready market in Quito, Lima, and Chile. In addition, demand existed for the tocuyo (a coarse cloth), cotton, coca, and mules of the region. Both the Mayo and the Huallaga valleys also became important providers of some of these products. In the upper parts of the central jungle, a market for foodstuffs in the Cerro de Pasco mines accounted for the increase in agricultural production.

Access routes were always a source of preoccupation, nowhere resolved entirely. It was only in those areas where this obstacle did not prove overwhelming that the previously mentioned cash activites flourished. Missionaries contributed to the opening of communication routes, but their efforts remained fruitless when either a ready market, source of labor, or access route proved too difficult to establish. Thus, for as long as the Campa (Ashaninka) peoples of the central jungle resisted being recruited as a source of labor, agricultural output remained limited and the focus was placed instead on the colonization of the area with foreign immigrants.

To the north were a number of Quechua-speaking lowlanders who, in

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contrast, not only had a great deal of contact with the highlands, but articulated themselves within long distance trade routes that included a number of other ethnic groups. Among these were individuals who in several instances administered the productive enterprises previously mentioned, both throughout the colonial and early republican periods. In contrast, other lowlanders to the north were surroundered from various angles, initially by Brazilian slave raiders, colonial authorities, and Jesuits, and later, by a growing fluvial commerce and corresponding influx of outsiders. They were coopted through debt-bondage relationships. The demands placed on such people by economic interests which, further, often competed with each other over the same sources of labor, grew at times at overwhelming if also imperfect rates in response to both national and international economic conditions.

The development of the rubber boom and the northern shift to Iquitos of the major commercial transactions depressed the economic significance of the older northern colonial frontier closer to the highlands and intensified the demand for labor around Iquitos, at times, to brutal proportions. Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, the government's concerns with the development of overland or riverine commercial routes and the attraction of immigrant sources of labor grew in an attempt to ease and control the articulation of the Amazon's resources to, particularly, their international market. The political means used to consolidate the control of the area, especially its native inhabitants, when not a matter of sheer exercise of violence by particulars, became a state concern in principle if not always in practice. Despite the integrationist policy of the 'Aristocratic Republic' toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the physical distance from Lima posed

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obstacles difficult to overcome.

In this context the geopolitical problems which arose along Peru's frontiers in the course of the nineteenth century became a major issue of concern. These conflicts turned out to be particularly acute along the northern Amazon region, where both the opening of the Amazon river to steamship navigation and the growing international demand for various resources, particularly rubber, gave the area an importance unheard of before, in addition to an entirely new role in a wider network of communication.

Along with the demand for rubber grew the need for sources of labor and foodstuffs. Labor was scarce and when existent, put to work in the extraction of rubber, displacing once more the production of agricultural goods. Commodities imported from various parts of the world were not only relied upon for subsistence. This, in turn, led to the expansion of commercial activities which, as will be subsequently discussed, appeared at the base of the production relations which were to characterize this extractive economy through bonds of debt-servitude.

As conflicts over boundaries arose with Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and, most serious of all, Brazil, the successive governments of the nineteenth century struggled increasingly to develop means of geopolitical control. While several formal international treaties were signed throughout this time, a growing number of complementary mechanisms were developed in the effort to consolidate the boundaries of the nation-state. The area was politically broken up into several departments. Expeditions were sent out to explore the means of communication that might effectively articulate different regions to the rest of the country. Steamships were

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purchased to offset the ever growing Brazilian control of riverine trade. A number of colonization, immigration, and land grant laws were, lastly, progressively passed.

It is in this context that the efforts to 'civilize' and incorporate the Amazon's native peoples into the nation-state turned into a systematic government concern at the turn of the twentieth century (see, e.g., Bovo de Revello 1889: 22). Although in fact a source of government preoccupation to this day, it was worsened (much as now) by the unvoiced fact that those who remained peripheral to state structures were highland and lowland indigenous peoples characterized by non- capitalist production relations. Those larger economic concerns which thrived, precisely, on the threshold of such noncapitalist relations of production played a major part as well. This latter factor, as will be shown ahead, furnished the basis of many of the conflicts which arose on-the-ground between missionaries and other members of 'civil' society. The Dominicans' journal recurrently reminded its readers of these facts and, with this, further justified its search for economic support (M. Alvarez 1957: 149; Sarasola 1936a: 84; 1935b: 211, 1929: 39; Zubieta 1921).

The Peruvian state never had the funds required to fully finance on its own missionary endeavors in the lowlands. Yet, along with certain local sectors of society, it did provide both the organizational and infrastructural support that contributed to the development of such efforts (see W. Fernández 1952; Glave 1983: 32; Rénique 1980: 44; Robledo 1900; Stiglich _et al_. 1915; Villanueva 1902). Correspondingly, in those areas where state structures remained unconsolidated, missionaries played at times a key political role through their introduction of a

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'national' civilizational scheme at both an ideological and temporal level. Yet, they, like the state, remained limited by the economic developments underway in those areas where they tried to foster alternate structures (see, e.g., Delboy 1912a; Flores 1977; Málaga 1904; Portillo 1914; Rivero 1904; Stiglich 1902).

It is important, finally, not to lose sight of the key role played by particular types of individuals, especially women, in these movements. To start with, upper class women were not only avid church goers, but through their very Christianity, became the links whereby communication was established with Christians at lower echelons. They actively helped organize popular class movements by appealing to a deeply held religiosity, thereby furthering the 'oligarchical' interests for which they stood (Burga and Flores 1984: 88; Fernández 1984: 3-4; 44-51, 70-5, 164: Flores, Plaza, and Oré 1977: 79). This has continued to occur throughout this century in ways that have ranged from the organization of various charitable activities, to their support of school collections for the development of both the Church and missions. Both the Dominicans' journal and the Anales de la Obra de la Propagación de la Fé are replete with such accounts.

Women helped channel a significant degree of political support for 'what' the Church and state defended, but in the same stroke, contributed to the accumulation of large sums of money by way of the multitude of apparently insignificant collections in which they participated (Ibid.). The Dominicans' journal not only frequently expressed how much was owed to such efforts made by women - linking their virtues, furthermore, to those of Saint Rose of Lima - but also recognized

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the significant part played by female missionaries in the field, where in practice, they often remained the individuals responsible for the smooth development of everyday activities in the mission once they had been established (see, e.g., Anonymous 1920; Osende 1920; Venero 1954: 190).

At a national level and in the field, one could hold that, in essence, women accounted for the smooth development of the missionary endeavor by virtue both of the interests and values they represented and their day-to-day canalization of resources and activities 'on-the-ground.' The extent to which particular interests were indeed 'converted' into universal interests, however, remains to be seen and will be progressively analyzed (see Anonymous 1955; Burga and Flores 1984: 89-90). The wider-scale developments discussed in this chapter may have well stood at the base of the emergence of systematic missionary endeavors at the turn of the twentieth century, but these did not operate automatically. They were, rather, finally crystallized only by virtue of the efforts made by very different groups of people.

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CHART 3

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MADRE DE DIOS BASIN

BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DOMINICANS

Year	Who	Where	Development
1767	'Savages' with *mitayos*	Carabaya	Close gold mining activities
1768	Jorge Andino (priest)	Upper Madre de Dios	Contacts Sapiteri while making several trips to this area
1776	Joseph de Jussieu (botanist)	Southern Mountains	Studies chinchona bark
1780	Tiburcio de la Landa (governor)	Madre de Dios	Perishes when exploring this river
1800	Benito Valencio and Antonio Ferrer (priests)	Carabaya	Attempt to open road aided by Puno authorities
1800	Tomás Anaya and Pascual Doul (priests)	Lower Inambari	Explore it through San Gabán
1804	José Figueroa (priest)	Madre de Dios	Explores it and some of its affluents
1806	Benito Valencia and Buenaventura Quintana (priests) with Captain José García	Sandia	Explores to navigable points
1806	Benito Valencia and Buenaventura Quintana (priests) with Antonio de Goiburu	Carabaya	Penetrate its jungle region
1806	Antonio Serra (priest)	San Juan del Oro	Informs about the two branches of this river
1807	Antonio Lorenzo y Sobral (priest)	Carabaya	Issues a report about the Toromonas
1808	Fermín de Goya (doctor and priest)	Tambopata	Requests missionaries to 'reduce' natives in the area
1808	Vicente Ferrer and Antonio Avellá (religious prefect and priest) with subdelegate Larrauri	Inambari	Explore it and follow one of its affluents
1809	José de García (captain)	Carabaya, Tambopata	'Visits' natives in the area and follows the river for a stretch
1818	José de García (lieutenant colonel)	Sandia, Tambopata	Enters this region
1823	Zevallos (doctor) with an expedition	Paucartambo	Sent by the 1st Prefect of Cusco to protect agriculturalists
1828	Pedro Flores (priest)	Marcapata	Haciendas develop and a path is opened by him with help of locals
1835	William Miller (general)	Paucartambo	Explores Q'osñipata

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(Cont'd)

Year	Who	Where	Development
1836	Juan Pacheco and José Ochoa, among others	Gamanti	Form a gold company to recuperate mines
1846	Pablo Pimentel (subprefect)	Carabaya	Improves roads
1846	José Domingo Espinar (colonel)	Paucartambo	Issues report on how to 'remedy' problem with natives
1848	Julián Bovo de Revello (priest) with Cuzco prefect, general Miguel Medina	Paucartambo	Exploration
1849	Peons of José Poblete (chinchona merchant)	Carabaya, Inambari	Finds gold and obtains 6'000,000 pesos worth in a few years
1849	Gabriel Larrieu	Carabaya	Gold
1850	M. W. Weddell (doctor, botanist)	Carabaya	Explores flora looking for chinchona
1851	José Miguel Medina (general)	Marcapata	Opens path to the river Hapo
1851	Francisco Bolognesi (colonel)	Paucartambo	Heads an expedition to extract chinchona bark
1851	Lardner Gibbons (lieutenant of the U. S. marine)	Paucartambo	Explores to where the Tono and Piñipiñi rivers meet
1852	Lardner Gibbons and Julian Bovo de Revello	Madre de Dios, Urubamba	Navigate these rivers
1852	Manuel Ugalde	Tono (Paucartambo)	Is sent in by the prefect of Cuzco, general M. de la Guarda
1853	Clements Markham (geographer)	Cuzco, Madre de Dios	Explores mountains in the region.
1854	Justus Hasskarl (alias Jose Carmen Muller)	Cuzco, Carabaya	Is sent in by planters from Java and Batavia to look for chinchona bark
1856	Prendergast (British artist)	Paucartambo	Goes in with protection from authorities
1858	Agustin Aragon	Carabaya, Tambopata	Chinchona bark
1860	Expedition sent by Agustín Aragon	Ollachea, Carabaya	To obtain wild rubber
1860	Clements Markham	Tambopata, Inambari	Looks for chinchona bark and later publishes a map
1861	Faustino Maldonado	Madre de Dios	Perishes exploring this river
1861	Juan de la Cruz Gironda (governor)	Sina	Protects chinchona bark expeditions
1861	Paul Marcoy (Laurent de Saint-Cricq)	San Gabán, Marcapata	Publishes travel report

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(Cont'd)

Year	Who	Where	Development
1862	G. Wallis (botanist)	Purús and affluents	Studies flora
1862	Maldonado expedition	Madre de Dios	Survivors return
1864	Antonio Raimondi	Ayapata, Ollachea, Carabaya	Collects rare plants
1964	" "	Huari-huari, I-nambari, Tambopata	Geographical description
1865	" "	Paucartam-bo	?
1865	William Chandless	Purús, A-quiry	Searches for rubber and issues a re-port that attracts numerous persons
1865	Rodríguez	Carpa Orco, Carabaya	Obtains great profits from gold found in the area
1865	Several people	Carabaya	Enter to look for chinchona bark
1865	Costa brothers from Puno	Carpa Orco, Carabaya	Fail to mechanize gold extraction
1865	Antonio Raimondi	Marcapata	Explores Madre de Dios' headwaters
1866	Mixed Commission Pe-ru-Brasil	Frontier between Peru and Brasil	Sets limits
1867	Piper (naturalist)	Purús	Studies fauna and flora
1868	John William Nystrom	Tono, Pi-ñipiñi	Sent in by government commission, he reaches these rivers
1870	Julián Parga and Tomás Polo	Callanga, Manu	Search for chinchona bark up to this area
1873	Baltazar La Torre (col-onel) with 70 men	Alto Ma-dre de Dios	Baltazar La Torre perishes, al-legedly killed by Sirineris
1877	Gustavo Mangelsdorff	Paucartam-bo	Chinchona bark
1879	Luis M. Robledo	Madre de Dios	Explores
1880	Fernando Peñaloza	Tambopata	Explored by chinchona bark producers
1882	Edwin Heath (doctor)	Madre de Dios, A-bubaya	Explores these rivers, the second of which is today known as the river Heath
1888	Remigio Morales Bermú-dez (vice-president of Peru) with several en-gineers	Sandia	Explore the mountains of the region

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(Cont'd)

Year	Who	Where	Development
1888	D. Ehrenreich	Alto Purús	Explores
1889	Manuel César Vidal	Lower Inambari	Explores and starts to extract gold
1890	Fermín Fitzcarrald	Manu	Finds the isthmus connecting the Ucayali and Madre de Dios river basins
1890	Ricardo García Rosell with engineers E. E. Olcott and F. Forte	Inambari	Travels through this river basin
1890	Fernando Alvízuri (with government protection)	Carabaya	Develops a large sugar plantation and opens a road
1893	Müller (French geographer	Heath river	Determines its course
1893	Numerous workers from Arequipa	Madre de Dios	Are contracted to work rubber
1894	Numerous rubber gatherers from Peru	Headwaters of the Yuruá and Purús	Head in this direction to work rubber
1894	Antonio Urilde Huanta	Madre de Dios	Travels upriver the Alto Madre de Dios
1894	Fermín Fitzcarrald with business partner Vaca Diez	Madre de Dios	Reach it through the isthmus of Fitzcarrald, planning to develop commercial supremacy
1895	Doctor de la Chiessa and María Baraballi de Chiessa (his wife)	Marcapata	First European woman to settle in this region
1896	Pedro P. Morales	Paucartambo	Suggests this may be the Yavero river which flows to the Urubama
1896	Nicolás Suárez and Alberto Pislohic (Bolivian and German, respectively)	Isthmus of Fitzcarrald	Travel there to recognize its advantages
1896	Carlos Fermín Fitzcarrald and Vaca Diez	Urubamba	Both perish
1896	Ascencio Carbajal	Callanga, Piñipiñi	?
1896	Council of the Department of Cuzco	Marcapata	Votes in favor of a road
1896	Miguel Estanislao Yábar, among others	Q'osñipata	Approach the area with the purpose of recuperating its haciendas
1896	Iñca Mining Company	Upper Inambari	Gold

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(Cont'd)

Year	Who	Where	Development
1896	Dr. Muñiz and Ascencio Cárbajal	Purús	Head in that direction from Lacco and Callanga
1897	Peruvian merchants	Madre de Dios	Arrive from Iquitos to sell
1897	Pedro José Carrión (colonel, prefect of Cuzco)	Camanti	Sets out to open a road
1897	Rerniers (merchant), among others	Cuzco	Search for rubber
1897	Herbert Twedle and several ingeneers	Inambari basin	Search for gold
1898	Ramón Chaparro (vice-president of the chamber of congress)	Madre de Dios	Approach it from Lacco and Càllanga
1898	Fusch (ingeneer)	Huari-huari	Explores it and proposes a major plan to work gold
1898	Sandia Mining Company	Sandia	Studies are begun to divert the river Machicamani
1898	Vizcarra (colonel)	Yuruá	A cross-path is opened from the Putaya river to reach Iquitos more easily
1898	Adolfo Hilficker (ingeneer)	Paucartambo	Finds abundant rubber in the area
1899	Leopaldo Collazos	Purús	Finds a pass to get there from the Urubamba
1899	José Balta (èngineer)	Santo Domingo	Tries to resolve controversy about gold property
1900	Inca Mining Company	Santo Domingo	Builds a good road with a bridge over the Inambari
1900	Delfín Fitzcarrald	Purús	Visits the area
1900	Ricardo García Rosell	Inambari	Explores it and some of its affluents
1900	Luis M. Robledo	Paucartambo	Suggests this may be the Yavero
1900	Enrique Gamboa	Carabaya	Perishes; he worked gold in the area
1901	E. L. Rivera	Taguatimanu	Explores the general area
1901	Casa Forga and Cómpany	Sandia, Tambopata	Innumerable 'Indians' hired to open a road perish
1901	Wilson (ingeneer of Santo Domingo mines)	Tambopata	Reaches it from the highlands of Huancamayo

Sources: García 1905; Villasante 1975; Werlich 1968

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CHAPTER 5

THE NATURE OF THE RELIGIOUS TASK

The analysis of the referents in the religious message put forth by missionaries can contribute to define not only the underlying barriers and processes perceived as crucial in the interrelations established between diverging religious groups. The nature and extent of the relationships posited to exist between religious and non-religious - or sacred and secular - cultural structures is also signalled in the course of this effort and, with this, the social nature and meaning of the spiritualities and religious 'truths' being diffused.

At stake, therefore, are the connections between cultural ideology and social practice assumed and expressed through a 'faith.' In other words, the ideals and practices fostered through given spiritualities have precise origins that denote messages of possibly contending meanings, subject to analysis only once their referents are fully established. In this sense, who is upholding a particular body of beliefs may be as important to their diffusion as the meaning of the beliefs themselves, which could thus be said to be in practice largely determined by the former.

The two major schools of thought that have addressed the problem of the meaning, or underlying referent, of the religious task or faith emphasize, on the one hand, the cultural side of the equation and, on the other, its social aspects. In a first interpretation, cultural ideology is held accountable, or considered the key referent in the communication

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process of a new religion. In a second interpretation, cultural practice or social meaning are seen as providing the principal parameters within which both the content of and reception to a new religion is taking place. After examining each of these views, the importance of establishing the referent of the religious message shall be discussed in relation to the social forces set in motion in the process.

Cultural Meaning

The first school of thought is best synthesized in the propositions put forth by Geertz (1968, 1965). A brief review of his ideas in this regard can help unravel a string of related notions developed by others who share his point of departure (even where the particular application of those notions akin to his own would not perhaps be shared by him).

For Geertz the crux of the conversion issue finds its referent in the dialectic established between common sense and religious beliefs (1968: 95). That religion draws its persuasiveness out of a reality it alone defines is a process viewed, furthermore, as insured by ritual (Ibid.: 100). With respect to social action, however, a distinction is drawn:

> Religious belief in the midst of ritual, where it engulfs the total person, connecting him, as far as he is concerned, to the deepest foundations of existence, and religious belief as the amalgam of ideas, precepts, judgements, and emotions that the experience of that engulfment insinuates into the temper of everyday life are simply not the same thing. The former is the source of the latter; but it is the latter which shapes social action (Ibid.: 111).

Thus:

> ... besides the psychological and sociological factors impelling men toward belief, there are also cultural ones, arising ... from the felt inadequacies of commonsense ideas in the face of the

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complexities of experience. It was this that Max Weber called 'the problem of meaning' (Ibid.: 101).

How this problem of meaning, however, may be related to social forces is addressed ambiguously and, finally, left unresolved:

> ... [While] the values one holds are grounded in the inherent structure of reality ... between the way one ought to live and the way things really are there is an unbreakable inner connection. What sacred symbols do for those to whom they are sacred is to formulate an image of the world's construction and a program for human conduct that are mere reflexes of one another (Ibid.: 97).

That is:

> What is expressed in symbolic form men confronted in actual experience, and what men confronted in actual experience it lent a broader form and deeper meaning to. This is circular, but religion, considered as a human phenomenon, is always like that ... It draws its persuasiveness out of a reality it itself defines. The source of any creed's vitality, even one so implicit and uncodified as the Indo-Javanese, lies in the fact that it pictures the ultimate structure of existence in such a way that the events of everyday life seem repeatedly to confirm it. It is when this magical circle is broken and religious concepts lose their air of simple realism, when the world as experienced and the world as imagined no longer seem to be mere elucidations of one another, that perplexities ensue (Ibid.: 39; emphasis added).

Put somewhat more explicitly:

> The moving force of this still far from completed social and cultural metamorphosis is usually considered to be Western impact, the shaking of the foundations of traditional culture in Asia and Africa by the dynamism of industrial Europe. This is, of course, not wrong; but the energy of this external stimuli was converted, not just in Indonesia and Morocco but everywhere that it has been felt, into internal changes: changes in the form of economic activity, in political organization, in the bases of social stratification, and, perhaps most critically, changes in the sense of life's possibilities, in notions of what one might hope for, work for, or even expect in the world. It is these internal changes, not, for the most part, European culture as such, to which religious change has been on the one hand a response and on the other an incitement (Ibid.: 20-1).

Nonetheless:

> The central paradox of religious development is that, because of the progressively wider range of spiritual experience with which

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> it is forced to deal, the further it proceeds, the more precarious it gets. Its success generates its frustration (Ibid.: 14).

Geertz, then, considers the ideological tensions that result from the diffusion of a religion central to understanding the disruptions that emerge between a socially ritualized set of beliefs and the common sense experience of everyday life. Though he elsewhere emphasizes that the social analysis of religious systems need be kept apart from and, moreover, enriched by, the "analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religious proper," the study of the diffusion of a religion should reach beyond the symbols deemed at stake (1965: 178).

Neither cultural and ideological distance nor an equal exchange of commensurate oppositional religious systems provide the sole referents for the spread of a new faith. These emerge in both a set of cultural beliefs and social practices, which diffuse in more than a symbolic context. Yet Geertz' circular argument cannot explain which changes are likely to ensue or when, how, and why.

This tendency to divide the secular from the sacred and not see the connections between the two is most common among missionaries (Beidelman 1982, 1974; Stevens 1983). Accordingly, missionary anthropologists are perhaps the ones who have led the most ardent search to discover how to make religious messages acceptable, and, likewise, have tended to attribute the failure of a religion to diffuse to its proponents' inability to bridge the cultural distances at stake (Kietzman 1958; Loewen 1967; Marzal 1983). It is argued, for example, that by making the religious message culturally relevant, Christo-paganism could be countered (Wonderly 1967). Similarly,

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Rosenstiel advises missionaries in Papua, New Guinea, on the importance of bearing in mind such scientific principles as knowledge of the native language, life, customs, and living and working with the people, including overall understanding and adaptation of features which coincide with those the missionary intends to introduce (1959: 108). Ideological meaning, as an underlying referent, is similarly often put in the forefront of the articulation of local and universal churches, as Geertz himself proposes (see, e.g., Arbuckle 1978).

The emphasis solely on drama, rhetoric,. or language, leaves aside the social referent of the religious message propounded by the missionary. That is, the approach develops a notion of religious belief as engrained in a symbolic code, which some try to break into in order to induce transformations 'from within,' but where the referents underlying the codes themselves do not appear (e.g., Kietzman 1958). We are left with no logical means to understand why a loss of common sense may ensue at some times and not others or in differing degrees and with varying results.

Social Meaning

In an essay on the social meaning of the monastic and mendicant spiritualities during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in Europe, Rosenwein and Little propose a method of analysis that introduces a succint description of the complexity

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of the problem at hand when one intends to socially 'decode' religious messages:

> ... establishing that a spirituality fits, in a general way, into its social context still leaves unanswered the question of how a specific form of spiritual life is causally related to particular social phenomena. The answer to this question [may] ... be sought by isolating and analyzing the unique features of ... [a given] spirituality ... These [may] ... then be correlated with the unique features of the society that incorporated them (1974: 4-5; emphasis added).

They hypothesize that:

> ... the assertion that different forms of religious life develop in response to particular social problems ... [may be] corroborated by the pattern of decline that sets in once the problems have been met (Ibid.: 31).

Their development of these methodological suggestions for their particular subject of study may be regarded as highly illustrative:

> The social achievement of the friars ... consisted in their confronting and eventually demystifying the taboo of monetary commercial transactions, starting by outright rejection, then by incorporating elements of commercial practice into their spirituality, and finally by helping to justify wordly commerce in a modified and carefully circumscribed form.
>
> The religious life of the friars, like that of the monks before them, involved the Christianizing of an activity that had been seen as wholly exploitative and therefore morally unacceptable. In both instances this activity was the occupation of the dominant class of a sector of society. In urban society, dominated by merchants and professionals, money-making had been condemned, while in feudal society, dominated by knights, lay violence had been unacceptable. The spiritualities that responded to these conditions did so, on one level, by repudiating the unacceptable ac-

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tivities; the friars rejected money; the monks abandoned the battlefield. But on a second level, the response was less sharply disapproving. Both monks and friars nourished a deep sensitivity to the positive possibilities inherent in these hitherto indiscriminately condemned activities. They developed spiritualities that in themselves suggested a way to separate out the useful aspects from the exploitative ones. The monks fought spiritual battles without shedding blood, thus excercising violence as truly Christian knights. The friars negotiated the Gospel without using money, thus exercising commerce as truly Christian merchants.

But neither the monks nor the friars stopped with a solution valid only for themselves. Other sections of society had not been unaware of the moral problems of their age, and the monks and friars joined with them in working out for the ruling classes an acceptable version of the previously objectionable activities. Money-making and warfare were carefully examined to determine precisely which of their aspects should continue to be condemned and which, on the other hand, merited religious and moral justification. In each case, once this task had been accomplished, once the Christian knight (who did not fight all the time, but only on behalf of the Church) and the Christian merchant (who did not get rich in any way he could, but only by charging a just price) had been defined and justified - the vitality of the religious order began to wane. ...

The Franciscans and Dominicans assuredly professed the same basic beliefs of the same religion as those professed by the Benedictines, in the eleventh century. But just as assuredly, the spiritual lives led by monks and friars were fundamentally different. The key to understanding their peculiar characteristics lies not in their shared religious beliefs but in the ways they reflected and modified two distinctly different societies (Ibid.; emphasis added).

Rosenwein and Little propose, then, the existence of a core of religious beliefs whose social referents may be found in the ways in which they are used to reflect and modify the social problems of given groups of people at par-

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ticular times and places, rather than in those aspects shared at a general level (see also Tawney 1960). While they coincide with those who hold ideology as a system of practices (for example, Christian 1972, Feuchtwang 1975; Godelier 1974; Rigby 1981), they also point to the specific need to unravel in reciprocal form the social problems in given settings and the particular aspects being morally condemned or justified in relationship to which the spiritualities developed may be said to issue responses.

The literature on missions shows that these play a major part in the adjustment of those being missionized to their wider social context (see Miller 1970; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Salazar 1977; Urban 1984, among others) and, furthermore, that religious proselytism thrives precisely when displacements or cleavages exist in this respect among the people with whom missionary work is to be conducted (for example, Nida 1958, Regan 1983; Salamone 1980; Stoll 1982). Supernatural conceptions regarding the nature and relationship of man to other men and his universe are, furthermore, widely noted to be introduced at the same time by the missionary and to not only accompany but address the first set of processes (e.g., Boutilier 1978; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981).

The import of these conceptions is what has led many an-

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thropologists to single out and focus upon the structure or meaning of given religious messages, particularly when competing missionary groups have been present simultaneously and an attempt was made to explain why one was chosen above the others (e.g., Horton 1975; Miller 1975; Schieffelin 1981). The search for meaning mentioned by Geertz, then, may be said to express concrete interpretative requirements (see also Doyal and Harris 1983 and Van Binsbergen 1977).

In so far as the development of missions is linked both to changing inter- and intra-local communications or interaction and to an interstitial or not entirely consolidated presence of core state structures, one may suggest that the social messages propagated by a religious mission will refer, in a first instance, to such processes. Yet it is also necessary to consider, in a second instance, how the social forces thus set in motion might impinge, if at all, upon the messages fostered. That is, message and context do not necessarily interrelate in a sole mode but in varying ways that require, consequently, both an analysis of the parameters set by the context of development of a given religious message and, inversely, of the impact of the message upon its context - unless one be willing to consider an altogether independent or autonomous sphere of existence for each part of the relation.

Thus, one may posit as at stake, first, the problems posed

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by the incorporation into the wider society of those being evangelized and, second, the shifting locus of power which this may give rise to and shade the social message of the missionary task or faith. One would not only expect this to be expressed in the message being propagated by missionaries but, to shift along with the development of such social processes themselves. Who and what is to define or be represented by the content of the message is thus as important as how power is likely to be structured both on-the-ground and in the message itself.

Religious Faith as Social Process

Ideology defines potential practice and, inversely, practice sets the parameters within which distinct ideologies regarding the structure of power prevail. The message of a religious task or faith, it is hypothesized, will refer to the natural and supernatural notions about how man should relate to his fellow men and his universe in ways that signify each other and shall be affected by the social forces thereby set in motion.

The social message can consequently be considered as part of a process - much as its referent. How truth is arrived at would then become of particular importance. Williams (1977) and, in the particualr context of religious missions, Muratorio (1982, 1980), succeed in developing this frame of analysis dynamically, while placing the issue of power at stake in the development of contending social conceptions. Ethnicity, for example, is viewed in this light by Muratorio as an ideological practice in continual process of definition and redefinition by both hegemonic groups, including missionaries, and indigenous peoples, in response

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to new social relationships under differing historical periods (1982: 11-2). Williams expresses this clearly:

> A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular. Its internal structures are highly complex, ... it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own (1977: 112).

Of added importance in the constitution of a hegemonic process is <u>who</u> establishes it and what are the power relations maintaining it. Religious 'truth' should consequently be considered a social construct, where myths may continually be both confronted and recreated (Du Toit 1985; Erdheim 1978; Gellner 1978).

While the changes in inter- and intra-local communications and the interstitial presence of state structures may define both the contexts under which missions develop and the social problems these will encounter and refer to in their social messages, ultimately how these will be set in practice is defined through a social process which expresses the shifting loci of power being set in motion. The social meaning of a religious message, then, not only emerges in a specific context but will return either to alter it (see, for example, Hvalkof and Aaby 1981) or be altered by it (an extreme case is presented in Glazier 1983), depending on the distribution of power and who is in the end able to define the terms of interaction and in what measures (Klaiber 1980; Kudo 1982, 1980; Shapiro 1983).

Though one finds at stake in the diffusion of a religion not just its ideational meaning but, as importantly, who is upholding the religion

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and from within what position in a complex of political economic relationships, these different aspects are not independent of each other. Contending social groups do not only fight over the definition in the ultimate instance of the historically specific referents or meanings in a unitary religious body but, rather, may transform this very body in the process. This, moreover, is how different theological interpretations tend to arise in a given religion.

Who sets the terms of religious interpretation can, consequently, have profound theological reverberations in addition to social ones. While a current example of this process is expressed in the debates concerning the development of 'liberation theology' in Latin America and other parts of the world, the underlying issue is deeper still and regards the upsurge of local churches as opposed to a single universal one, including the extents to which the latter is capable of withstanding its local variants. The controversy not only finds its anthropological parallel in the discussions concerning multilinear vs. unilinear evolution but reproduces, similarly, a number of the same paths followed in response to this latter discussion. Those who consider such debates from a theological standpoint, not surprisingly, often end up reverting to the social sciences.

Yet, as both the social study of missions and the discussions regarding liberation theology suggest, the issue is not argued philosophically alone. The distribution of power contributes to define the social actors in the interpretation of a particular religious scheme. Thus, where the external support given to missionaries is reduced, the latter tend to find themselves forced to adapt their strategy to the

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population among whom evangelical work is being carried out. In those instances, however, where the power of the mission is derived primarily from external sources, the evangelical process will commonly proceed according to the definition of a strategy which corresponds more closely to that from which it gathers its support (see, for example, Beidelman 1982 and Gutiérrez 1983). Some mixture between the two bases of support is, nonetheless, inevitable, in so far as both sources of power co-exist in given measures. The social impact of a mission, like the history of proselytizing faiths, can thus be expected to express such tensions (Gramsci 1975; Korn 1978; Martin 1980; Muratorio 1982; Regan 1983; Worsley 1968).

The actual distribution of power, however, defines the parameters within which a religion must operate in order to diffuse; but as the processes of social production and reproduction in which power is engrained are themselves inserted within a multi-directional field of forces, relative freedom is always maintained regarding the specific manners in which the religious categories, subjects, and social practices thus derived are specifically ordered (see Poulantzas 1973). While, as shall be argued, a religious mission may propose a strategy of social reproduction originating in a particular external message or political stance, in order to diffuse it must succumb to existing political economic processes. Hence, it is only through a definition of what lies at stake in the social referent, or meaning, of a religious message in somewhat more concrete terms (that is, beyond the power, in a generalized or abstract sense, to define and structure the essence of social 'truth') that one may begin to make explicit the social content of the battle of ideas set in motion by religious missions and thus explain its particular dynamics at given

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moments. However, for now just the ideological justifications that were provided by the Dominicans themselves will be described in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 6

DOMINICAN IDEOLOGY

> The missionary is a conqueror in the fullest sense of the term; ... whether we look at history in its most decisive and culminating periods or in the infinite series of its minor evolutions, at each step we are confronted with a race or nation which by the rule of arms of by a systematic process of assimilation takes possession of another and maintains it yoked to the carriage of new destinies; at each step we see a handful of men who, bold and avid for new and intense emotions, set sail on an immense sea, wander through the spacious solitude of all the oceans, to unknown regions, subjugate their inhabitants, join their blood and their institutions to the blood and institutions of these others, and a vigorous new social family is born, a people which will line up at the foot of history's pedestal along with others which give it their being and in their totality illustrate it.
>
> This is somewhat similar to the conquest of the Gospel, which emanates from the sublime scene in which twelve fishermen, disinherited from any other kind of fortune, calmly divided up the four corners of the earth; and why? in order also to conquer it, not with an interest in earthly possessions, but in order to guide its eternal destiny and certainly not by means of iron and extermination, but rather only by persuasion, which, strengthened by supernatural influence, can sugjugate souls (Anonymous 1912: 7; original in Spanish).

The theology of liberation cannot comprehend the reality of the tropical forest today, nor carry out effective work there, if it ignores the eminently revolutionary role which missionaries have always played there. It is not true that they devoted themselves only to 'baptizing' and 'building churches,' as they are often criticized for doing. They also created sources of production in their 'Reductions' and 'Doctrines,' which entered into contradiction with the narrow framework of the respective socio-economic system corresponding to each period, and made possible

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> the transformation of the native by himself. ... Wherever a system enslaved the native the missionaries provoked a transformation, and a new form of life was adopted ... and then another, and another new transformation, procuring always a better life for the natives. The history of the tropical forest presents itself to us as the history of the multiple forms in which its peoples have evolved, by means of the gospel, in different ways, towards diverse and more perfect forms, in which it is believed that man will live better (Alvarez 1977a: 4; original in Spanish).

The ideology which underlay the efforts made by the Dominicans to convert the indigenous peoples of Madre de Dios contains working assumptions which changed more in form than in essence throughout the twentieth century. Emerging in regard to the assimilation of one society by another, the Dominicans issued statements which helped set the terms and thereby nature of the incorporation through their definition of their: (1) own role in the process; (2) views held regarding the people with whom they worked; and (3) perception of the task at hand. While this chapter will for now do no more than put forth the conceptual underpinnings of the practical ideologies developed by the Dominicans in Madre de Dios - and thus rely strongly on their own most explicit writings with regard to the issues that have been posed - their social referents, and thus meaning, will be progressively unravelled and analyzed in subsequent chapters.

The Role of the Dominican

The protagonists of the missionary endeavor in

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Madre de Dios viewed it as consisting above all in the introduction of a Supreme Will among people who had been detached from any prior verity up to that point:

> The greatest work of the Missions is to convert souls to the faith, placing them upon the path to salvation; to this goal all other works are directed, and this purpose orders all other efforts. To make Jesus Christ known to those who do not believe, that they may believe, those who lie in darkness may see the brightness of the light; those who were dead may come again to the true life; those who wandered like lost sheep in the distance of incredulity may come close to the fold; the pagan nations may be made Christian, and all men form a single family, united by the links of divine charity; this is the ORDER which the saviour of the world gave to his disciples before going to the Father: "Go throughout the whole world and preach the gospel to all peoples; he who believes shall be saved; he who does not believe shall be lost" ... This too is the magnificent program which the apostle tries to carry out in all times and all countries.
>
> We, the missionaries of Urubamba and Madre de Dios, on penetrating the extensive and remote regions of the Amazon forests, while travelling in rustic canoes along its powerful and dangerous rivers, while exploring the virgin forests in very risky expeditions in order to surprise in their miserable huts the untamed savage tribes who mope in suffering and abject misery, what is our aim? It is none other than to bring these poor peoples out of their savagery, to tame their fierce customs, to commit them to the soft yoke of the gospel, teach them to conduct themselves like men and make them Christians, so that all may come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved.
>
> This work is not the work of men ... (Sarasola 1932: 222; original in Spanish).

This remains, to this day, the primary justification of missionary work (see, for example, Romero 1977: 8). The issue thus entailed, when viewed from the opposite angle,

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increasing the fold of God - i.e., the Church (e.g., Echenique 1960; Sarasola 1936c).

In their initial general approximation to lowlanders, the Dominicans viewed themselves not just as porter of a Supreme Will but of a superior civilization as well (see, e. g., Sarasola 1936a: 84). Their effort to introduce hierarchical structures of interaction to Madre de Dios, moreover, paralleled that of the Peruvian State and the Vatican (see, e.g., Alvarez 1924a: 70-1; Cenitagoya 1921: 262; Sarasola 1943: 8, 1942, 1935b: 219, 1929: 40). In this respect, unity and incorporation were to be attained by way of obedience:

> Without obedience to legitimate superiors union among Catholics themselves is impossible; and without union it is inevitable that the enemy should invade the field, and tear from us all the rights and liberties which make life possible. ...
>
> Catholics should unite, but they will not do so except under the ties of authority which include them all. May all Catholics unite under the authority and love of the Father of all, who is the Pope. Learn this from your enemies, for it is indeed sad that the children of darkness would be wiser than the children of light (Arana 1931: 166; original in Spanish).

Given the absence or marginal presence, when at all, of state structures, the Dominican missionaries entered Madre de Dios as the porters of 'truth' and sole possessors in the area of the means by which to gain spiritual and cultural access to ultimate sources of verity and salvation (e.g., Anonymous 1927: 61). They consequently defined their role as one of mediators in the relations that ought to be established not only between men and God but among men themselves.

The Dominicans of the Province of Navarra (Spain), who had to abandon their work among the tribal peoples of the Philippines at the

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end of the nineteenth century, arrived with what then may have been considered as a standard missionary ideological point of departure. Nonetheless, they continued to lend great practical weight to this ideology throughout their stay in Madre de Dios. Their ideology was more than a product of the 'times.'

Father Zubieta, the person placed in charge of the missions in Madre de Dios, arrived from the Philippines in 1902. He kept his leadership until his death in 1921, when Franco's 'crusade' in Spain still posited an ideelogy not unlike that described so far. But the Dominicans did not change the definition of their rele even in the light of later contrary influences. Thus, while the developments of the Second Vatican Ceuncil and Liberation Theology in the decade of the sixties strongly marked large sectors of the Latin American Catholic Church, the practical ideology of the Dominicans in Madre de Dios remained little affected (as the second introductery quote clearly suggests). Their only internal complaint during this peried concerned the reduction in the number of missionaries available (e.g., Echenique 1966).

Their work, however, did not proceed smoothly everywhere throughout their stay in Madre de Dios. We can elucidate the conditions faverable to the role they envisioned for themselves by considering those times and places where they carried out their objectives as manifested in this initial presupposition, as will be done progressively in this work.

For now, it is important that one not forget that the missionary found himself at times nearly unbearably alone in his position while in the field:

The missionary is a man devoted to difficult and apparently

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> insignificant tasks, a man countered by witches, chiefs and traders; a man who could be made to falter on his path by the presence of a woman should he not draw strength from his study and his faith; a man of flesh and blood, threatened by solitude, failure and despair (Anonymous 1956: 230; original in Spanish).

This, however, also nurtured the spirit of conquest with which the missionary undertook his work (e.g., Martin 1957: 94).

The Perception of the Pagan

A second presupposition of the Dominicans' work in Madre de Dios regards their perception of the indigenous peoples who constituted the focus of their work. Basically viewed as 'savages' who, although noble, had lifeways scarcely worth preserving. The Dominicans clearly expressed at an early date the notions they have retained throughout:

> The savage is an indolent being because he has few needs, and those he has he satisfies almost without working. Thus he does not feel the stimulus or the needle which stings him on to work, or to better his fate. How can he better his fate, when within his limited circle of ideas there is no fate better than his? His intelligence is almost entirely in the state of potential; for this reason his mentality is very little elevated above the spheres of animal instinct, and for the same reason the radius of his aspirations does not extend beyond that of his ideas. And this lack of ideas and aspirations, engenders in them their state of psychic and physical laziness which is almost irremediable, and creates a strong passive resistance, an inertia, before which the most heroic efforts crumble. How, then, should we try to attract them to civilization, which is all activity and energy? How should we persuade them of the grandeurs and marvels of religion, they who know no greater happiness than to eat and sleep and hunt and other similar things? How to persuade them of the advantages and excellences of civilization, they who are content with what Nature spontaneously provides for them?
>
> They are so satisfied with their mode of being and life, and they envy our civilization so little that, looking at things from a purely natural point of view, we might doubt whether it would be better to leave them in this state than to try to civilize them. But it is clear that this, viewed supernaturally, would be a heresy and an iniquity; and even considered humanly, it would be a refined cruelty, for who is not to be deeply

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moved by the physical, moral and mental misery of these infidels who, possessing a soul and heart like ours; having intelligence and will and all the other faculties which adorn man and make him like God; yet in spite of all this these faculties are so eclipsed that they are hardly distinguishable from brutes?

Who would not give sight to a blind man, even though he lived contendedly and did not desire it because he did not know what the light was? It would thus be brutally absurd to treat as inappropiate the work of the missionary because he tries to elevate the savages to a superior life.

But is it not also absurd to commit oneself to an impossible endeavor? If it were truly impossible, it would clearly be so. But this absolute impossibility does not exist here from the moment we recognize that the savage is essentially a man like any other (Anonymous 1919b: 25-6; original in Spanish).

Viewed as inferior beings and, furthermore, unaware of their inferiority, natives were nonetheless perceived as subject to change and salvation upon the introduction of a given civilization and religion. Their nature was thus considered to be inherently malleable: "The savage is not born, but made" (Osende 1933: 228). The savage, then, needed the missionary's - i.e., God's - intervention to become a 'full' person (see, e. g., Cenitagoya 1944a).

Deeper and of more serious consequence than the absence of a particular civilizational scheme among natives was the religious problem (e.g., Sarasola 1935b, 1929: 39). The absence of the latter not only precluded the solid instillment of 'civilization,' as it should be, but civilization when present without religion, posed quandaries nearly impossible to solve (e.g., Sarasola 1935c).

This is explicitly manifested in the following quote in which the problems posed by 'civilized savages' and 'uncivilized' ones are compared:

We have two types of savage man to study there: the civilized savage and the uncivilized savage. The former is no more

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than a human beast, urged on by the spirit of evil, and delivered without curb nor obstacle to his depraved instincts. The latter is no more than the pure human beast, with no more aspirations and demands than those which are aroused in him by primordial natural needs.

This second type is incomparably more innocent than the first. We only need to elevate the level of his mentality and his sentiments, to teach him to bless God and abstain from certain sins, to make of him a Christian, such as a savage man may come to be.

In what remains these poor people are inoffensive, and their life, since it is so rudimentary, has little to reform in its positive part. ...

The other human type of the Montaña who demands even more deep reflection on our part is the savage civilized man; that is to say, the cultured man, who has no faith and no fear of God, and who goes there to seek his fortune. ...

This type is the most common among the whites of these regions, with honorable exceptions, and this savage civilized man is the most harmful animal to inhabit the jungle. All his culture, his astuteness and malignance, are at the service of the beast which is harbored in his heart. His mission consists in exploiting, enslaving and victimizing whoever opposes himself to his depraved instincts.

The aboriginal savages of the Montaña have no enemy more cruel or merciless.

He alone causes them more death and destruction than all their other enemies. He pursues them and hunts them like wild animals; and either kills them or reduces them to the most horrifying slavery. He steals their children, sisters, wives, and mothers, whether for himself or to sell to others like any beast. The trade in human beings is common in these places, and it is normal to exchange a woman for a cow or a mule, or sell her for two or three hundred soles. ...

Well this is what our cultured men do; these figurines who are so correct, so fine, so amiable, who walk around the great civilized centers; that is what they do when they are far from the scene of the world, far from the gaze of their spectators, far from the reach of the staff of justice. There are no social events there, no fear of punishment, no human respect; so they can show themselves as they are, and indeed they show themselves, without disguise, in all the abomination of their ugliness and infamy.

This is the type which we offer to those who wish to study what man is without faith and without the fear of God, however cultured he may be.

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> In him they find a convincing argument for the necessity of religion as the basis of all civilization. He will show them how where the spirit of Christ does not reign, the most horrifying slavery reigns; because Christ redeemed man from the slavery of sin which is the origin of all slavery.
>
> The world is no more than a hell full of slaves, where no more is heard than a cry for liberty, and they do not know that liberty is not to be asked for, but that each one gives it to himself, by destroying the tyranny of his passions, and this is not destroyed by culture but by the grace of God (Anonymous 1919a: 91-4; original in Spanish).

Thus, the 'civilized savage' posed problems of conversion of a rather more serious nature in so far as his lack of religion was perceived as a product of evil as opposed to ignorance, in contrast to the uncivilized pagan (see, e.g., Ballón 1917: 85-7). The first not only failed to maintain a proper relationship with God, but interfered with the development of civil interaction among men (see, e.g., Alvarez 1923a; Anonymous 1927: 61; Aza 1919: 44). Oblivious to the priest and to the distanced core of state structures, the civilized savage instilled harm in so far as he could do as he pleased (e.g., Ferrero 1958b). For this reason, a priest could not do much whenever 'civil' conditions of life did not exist among outsiders. The uncivilized savage, considered more malleable, remained in this manner the primary focus of the missionary endeavor.

While the instillment of 'civilization' and 'religion' were often posed as separate although parallel problems, the Dominicans in fact sought the development of both to further their work (see, e.g., Esparza 1941; Ferrero 1968). In the peripheral contexts in which they carried out their endeavors, natives were perceived to have a better chance of responding not only to the missionary task of conversion, but also to the possibilities for developing 'civil' conditions of life (Ariz 1958: 5).

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The issue was centered, above all, upon the introduction of moral values and the teaching of proper living. Indigenous peoples were pagans - that is, remained distanced from the fold of God - simply because they knew no better. This required that new 'habits' be instilled (see, e.g., Martín 1963: 24).

The problem was how to let indigenous peoples know that they knew not what was better (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963b: 18; Alvarez 1977a: 5; Anonymous 1927: 60; Armendáriz 1958: 61). Indigenous peoples, despite external and internal pressures, did not find the sources of their problems in their own lifeways (e.g., Anonymous 1944: 278; Cenitagoya 1939: 225-6).

The issue was complex. The missionary had to present himself as carrier of a superior way, and thus somehow prove himself above some of the more negative local living examples of Western civilization. That is, they had to find a means of convincing natives of their need to convert to some of those persons whom natives hated and feared most. Often trapped between one and another 'savage,' the chore was made all the more difficult for the missionary when each of these 'savages' identified him with the other (e.g., Alvarez 1920: 157).

The Envisioned Task

The Dominicans found the concept of an Ultimate Supreme Being absent among lowlanders in Madre de Dios. The conversion process, then, required both a means of letting people know that such a superior way existed and a stance before current conditions of living which could leave no doubt with regard to the first.

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It was necessary to convince people, in a first instance, that their own supernatural beliefs were spiritually worthless:

> The starting point of a conversion is always a spiritual death. Conversion is thus a true resurrection (Arana 1943b: 86; original in Spanish).

The concept, furthermore, forms part of the general Christian idea of conduct whereby suffering and spiritual pain are considered prerequisites of religious enlightenment and salvation (see, e.g., Olañeta 1936: 220). Acknowledgement of the notion of sin as an offense to God implied, then, also seeing in God the agent of salvation (e.g., Sarasola 1931). The obstacles posed by mundane affairs could thus be regarded as a means of opening the mind to divine concerns.

The task of conversion thereby included, in a second instance, a simultaneous stance before earthly conditions of living in which salvation should be redefined to signify sole and unconditional attachment to the Divine Order. Not only was it necessary for religious salvation, then, that human matters not be mixed with divine concerns, but this point, taken further, meant that:

> There is no social issue, only an individual issue. If every individual were what he should be, all the questions and difficulties of life would disappear (Osende 1961: 37; original in Spanish).

In this regard, all earthly matters touched upon in the process would assume a secondary position (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963d: 19, 1963e; Alvarez 1944: 256, 1942: 59; Anonymous 1977; Arana 1945: 303; Cenitagoya 1947: 72, 1944b: 19; Fernández 1941: 131; Guell 1961; Romero 1977: 8; Sarasola 1944, 1937b). Material conquest was but the opening door of that more noble and beautiful spiritual conquest of souls (Anonymous 1923: 664).

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The Dominicans, although fully conscious of the existence of evil persons capable of causing great harm among the people with whom they worked, considered this factor as yet another test which had to be endured by those who believed in the Ultimate Divine Order if eternal salvation was to be attained (e.g., Anonymous 1920; Sarasola 1929: 38). More important than the conditions of life one underwent on earth was the spiritual posture exhibited before these. Their predominantly passive stance before the external determinants of social life thus remain justified.

The missionary issue placed in second order man's capacity to transform the world about him (see, e.g., Anonymous 1920). What is more, the path of religious salvation stood in direct relationship to man's disregard of external hardships:

> The only thing we do not know is what the external factors of this destiny are, that is to say the diverse situations which we must pass through and the agents who will operate upon us. We do not know the direction of the path which will carry us to the desired end. We do not know it, nor should we know it, because to do so would be to destroy its very purpose, which is none other than our own perfection, which we obtain by means of our docility and submission to the divine plan. ...
>
> It is thus necessary to leave the field clear for the action of God upon ourselves. We are only called upon to second Him in His plans, putting at His service ourselves and our activity. ... He who wishes to be perfect should limit himself docilely to the trials which God disposes for this purpose.
>
> Thus in divine works, human ideas should disappear, as should human calculations, human foresight, and human means until man comes to understand and feel deeply that all these are futile, they are inefficacious, if they are not informed by divine virtue (Anonymous 1922: 426-9; original in Spanish).

Although advocating a divorce between the divine and humane, the Dominicans both represented and acted upon mundane considerations in the civilizational schemes being brought together at a local level.

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The social meaning of the assumptions under which the Dominicans developed their ideological practices changed under the various historical conditions of existence in which they carried out their work, even when remaining ultimately consistent in their ideological expression. It is thus important to focus somewhat further on these working assumptions before considering their continuity in the context of various sets of relationships.

It is likely that in their most salient details, the Dominicans' ideological points of departure are shared by people other than missionaries who attempt to define beforehand the ultimate value of the ideological practices they try to instill in others. Therefore, the issue is not the existence of such assumptions or their historical origin, but their permanence, is so far as not missionaries alone have worked before (and even now) under assumptions similar in various ways. It is thus important to further explicate the type of social project that may be derived from the various working assumptions the Dominicans held, before uncovering the precise social meaning of their endeavors among the Harakmbut peoples of Madre de Dios.

The first two sets of working assumptions, concerning the role of a missionary and the nature of indigenous poeples,, constitute mirror images of each other. The 'truth' or legitimacy which the missionary vested upon his own practice was that which he took away or substracted from that of the people with whom he worked (e.g., M. Alvarez 1957: 149). The sense of worth deducted from the latter was also vested upon the missionary as representative of God on earth (e.g., Ferrero 1953: 139). To the extent that the priest acted as the intermediary of God, this 'worth'

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remained always rather ambiguous and subject to ultimate interpretation, not by God, but by His particular representative on earth (e.g., Alvarez 1924b: 196). In that sense, individual salvation passed through a Divine Plan of rather uncertain nature (e.g., Ferrero 1953: 139).

More important than the particular way in which the priest understood God's 'ultimate truth' at a given moment, was the fact that the people among whom work was carried out remained marginal to the design of of the projects which affected them (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963a: 16; Alvarez 1977b; Alvarez 1920: 165; Aza 1919: 45; Romero 1977; Sarasola 1937b: 85; 1931: 5). The missionary, as sole agent of the definition of the terms of incorporation through which indigenous life would cease to be what it had been and become something else, thus developed a social project which required the blind faith of those with whom he worked (see, e.g., Fernández 1930: 213; García 1942: 144). This can shed light on the Dominicans' emphases on the development of obedience and a 'spirit' of unconditional belief in their message. Both constituted the means allowing for the reproduction of the missionary's self attributed right to define any ultimate verity (e.g., Sarasola 1938: 82).

The social projects put forth were prestructured in political terms in a manner that aimed at and paralleled the processes required for the development of a hegemonic state. The application of this ideology reflected understandings of the relations between man and God, among men, and toward nature.

The manner in which the Dominicans defined their task makes it relatively clear that the obstacles in the environment, both social and natural, of the people among whom they worked, were to be considered

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secondary. This was not only implicitly held, but expressed when the problems in man's environment were posited as a concern of individual as opposed to social nature (e.g., Anonymous 1920). Thus, not only was the right of pagans to define their own terms of interaction withdrawn but, now, all of their possible foundations for doing so discredited in the same stroke (see, e.g., Alvarez 1954; Alvarez 1959: 67, 1952: 64-5; G. Fernández 1952: 7; Lyon 1967; Martín 1948: 440, 1947: 223, 1946: 56). The hierarchy of religious order disregarded reality on-the-ground and by this very deed perhaps came into being (see e.g., Anonymous 1919a; Cenitagoya 1921: 261; Holzman 1951: 54).

This does not mean that ultimate truth should have alternately been considered the domain of indigenous peoples. Under the circumstances it could not be. The indigenous peoples' incorporation into a wider set of social processes posed very real issues indeed with respect to the terms under which this should take place, both for natives and the people with whom they were now to relate. At issue was, rather, the process by which this should now ensue.

The extent to which the notion of an ultimate verity denies the existence of any verity at all may constitute a philosophical issue. The point, rather, is not whether the concept of ultimate verity can exist - for example, in the development of knowledge or science - but, if it does, through what kinds of social process it is arrived at. Ideological truth may ultimately and actively be bound or circumscribed by its social meaning at a given time and place. Any truth is thus always ultimately social, however abstractly or universally it may be posed (e.g., Sarasola 1929: 39).

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The presupposition of the Dominicans established a separation between sacred and secular in the cultural and social structures that correlated closely with the shift in the locus of power they tried to inculcate among indigenous peoples. Hence, the Dominicans came to conceive the solution to the problems which they addressed as contained in, fundamentally, changes of a cultural and educational nature (see, e.g., García 1947; Sarasola 1928: 447). Yet one may suggest that their endeavors would have also been limited - and thus their project given social meaning in ultimate instance - by the actual distribution of power on-the-ground and, more concretely, the existing relations among men and between men and nature.

This issue, analyzed in terms of the justifications which the Dominicans provided for their work can new be explored in relationship to its social referents and, in this manner, significance for the Harakmbut. Despite the Dominicans' position with regard to external factors, these not only defined the social content of their message, but also its ultimate meaning on a social plane.

While the Dominicans' ideological assumptions remained fairly constant through time, it does not mean that they were comparably successful in diffusing them. A number of missions arose and fell at various times and places in Madre de Dios. Moreover, the Dominicans were only able to introduce their work among the Harakmbut after several decades in the area.

The disentanglement of this problem, then, requires weaving the apparently stagnant presuppositions of the Dominicans' proselytizing endeavor in and out of the social processes underway where they carried out their work. It is this that bred different results and ultimately

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defined both the social meaning of their ideology and the extent to which incorporation into the larger society could indeed have passed primarily by way of a change of 'heart,' as they proposed.

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CHAPTER 7

DISTINCT COMMUNITIES INVOLVED

The process of missionization thrives amidst a political clash of selves, in which core state structures are either absent or marginal. In such a context, the social message the missionary introduces refers and ultimately affects the means by which 'ultimate verities' are arrived at and related to in the existing nature of power - through supernatural conceptions regarding how the universe and the interactions generated therein are established. These conceptions may thus be expected to find their referent is those differences in the social and economic organization of the distinct communities of people involved constituting the underlying points of contention in the 'civilizational' schemes brought together, as suggested in the past chapter.

In the conversion from local to world religions, a shift on-the-ground in the locus of power tends to ensue and manifest itself through simultaneous realignments in social production and distribution. Thus, the diffusion of a world religion can be said to signal political and economic transformations in the interaction patterns of different social groups - whether about to be introduced or already underway. In such a context, missions, in introducing an alternate civilizational scheme, put forth propositions which, consciously or not, affect above all, the relations established between the population being evangelized and the larger social order. These propositions, as shall be argued, underlie the mission's symbolic and social power.

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This chapter will briefly note the: (1) loss of power and consequent search for alternate sources widely perceived among those to be evangelized; (2) pressures on social and economic relations that result from this process; and (3) social and symbolic power of missions in such contexts. An effort shall be made to bring together what are usually perceived as disconnected sets of inequalities between the communities involved in the development of a given proselytizing effort. These will come into clearer focus in the course of the more detailed analyses to be carried out in subsequent chapters. The specific nature and significance of the changes that may be introduced through missionary endeavor will be progressively exposed.

The term 'power' in this discussion will not be restricted to either the use of force or the control of formally established political institutions alone. Above and beyond this, it shall be used to refer to the capacity - real and imagined - to actively respond to or work upon given social conditions of existence. In the context of those to be evangelized, a loss in this capacity appears to be always at work initially.

<u>The Unequal Distribution of Power</u>

People who have not already been affected to varying degrees by political economic processes emerging in a capitalist world system do not exist. Nonetheless, those moments in history during which missions spread, whether, at world-, nation-, or region-wide levels, generally witness an attempt to simultaneously reorder such political-economic relationships (see, for example, Horton 1975; Hutchinson 1957; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Muratorio 1982; Nida 1958; Pereira 1981; Rich 1970; Rigby 1981; Stoll 1982; Wolf

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1951). This underlies the shifts in the processes of social production and economic distribution found at work in such moments. Yet, the unequal distribution of power involved does not allow the interacting communities equal apportionments of free choice in the relations that develop between them.

While most groups of people welcome the opportunity to gain greater control over the forces affecting their conditions of existence, under certain circumstances this healthy or normal pursuit devolves into an induced set of changes negatively affecting a group's stance before the larger world. The context of incorporation into a wider society in which proselytizing takes place implies the existence of pressures for an outward shift in the locus of power. The likelihood of a development of such pressures is thus inevitably present and at the base of both the search for and results of the mechanisms and processes employed to meet this situation, whether in ideological or material terms. The place held in the larger world is thence affected.

That is, an unequal distribution of power both underlies and sets the parameters in the active pursuit of means by which to gain power or prestige among those most willing to convert vis-à-vis larger surrounding forces in existence (see, e.g., Beidelman 1982; Miller n.d.; Nida 1958; Rothenberg 1980). Beidelman notes, leaving out for the moment the issue of the responsibility that may be shared in the instillment of the process by the missionary, not only that a "basic feature of what is usually termed colonial activity is simply the interaction between disproportionate social groups which possess in different degrees the power to dominate" (1982: 4), but that "those most likely to be converted are those

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already alienated from the traditional system" (Ibid.: 20). "What first impressed Africans and encouraged them to imitate Europeans," then, "were military power, material goods, and technical skills" (Ibid.: 25). Similar observations are reported by several scholars, including Beckett (1978), Boutilier (1978), Greenberg (1947), Horton (1971), Hutchinson (1957), Hvalkof and Aaby (1981), Taylor (1981), and Worsley (1968).

In the development of a working relationship between a missionary and the group it seeks to proselytize, then, one finds both an external contextual moving force and an internal one, emerging among the subjects of missionary work in response to their own search for alternate sources of power. It is only the incorporation of this latter initiative into a broader set of processes which begins to shape its particular outcome in the context of religious proselytism.

While some suggest, on the basis of the above, that no religious group can socially transform other people without controlling or claiming to control the political and economic forces which affect them (e.g., Beidelman 1982; Muratorio 1982; Salamone 1980), others consider that this need not be the case (Miller 1970; Schieffelin 1981). How the new sources of power are constituted and why this can affect relations with others in a context of religious proselytism remain, then, processes in need of clarification.

Though any number of differences exist in social and economic terms between the distinct communities of people represented in the missionary endeavor, a reduced number of focal aspects must be articulated between the local and wider societies for the process of transition from mission to church to be effectively initiated. These refer

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particularly to those critical aspects which set the content of the changing relations of production through definitions of the relationships men ought to hold with regard to each other and toward 'nature,' signalled, as already suggested, by the spiritualities or ideologies developed in the course of the missionary endeavor. It is thus best to first consider the above processes in their social and economic relational aspects. One may then analyze the simultaneous search which may ensue for the symbolic and material control of the forces thus set at stake, as these can in turn underlie the "tensions in the understanding of the nature of power and power relations" that tend to develop consequently in the course of proselytizing efforts (Miller 1975).

Social and Economic Relations

The examples in the literature concerning the specific groups absorbed through proselytizing activities and their shifting terms of participation in broader political economic processes are numerous (see, among others, Greenberg 1947; Miller n. d.; Muratorio 1982; Nida 1958; Salamone 1976; Salazar 1977; Taylor 1981; Van Binsbergen 1977). Particularly where a belief in higher spirits is being introduced, the key transformations rest upon an effective disruption of the existing patterns of production and exchange. These changes may be considered, on the one hand, an outcome of forces larger than those set in motion through the missionary process itself. On the other hand, missionaries themselves may foster the precise outcome of these disruptions in the course of their expressions at other, somewhat more concrete, levels of social existence - i. e., in dealing with patterns of residency, health, child-rearing, etc. While relations of

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production set the parameters within which given social and economic pressures develop, different proposals and responses emerge regarding how these key elements will be addressed.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to offer a general discussion of either the precise nature or weight of the social and economic differences between the distinct communities of people involved in any proselytizing process, since such differences will vary from case to case in their concrete significance. What can be noted is the part that may be played by such disparaties and conflicts in the relations of production of the distinct communities involved and, hence the extent to which the missionary endeavor will tend to pervade the most significant facets of a people's existence.

The social and economic distinctions focused upon by missionaries, whether intentionally or not, appear to have their major repercussion on those relations which define the terms of incorporation into a wider social sphere, precisely where a power vacuum exists both for those being evangelized and those who support proselytizing efforts. It is the precise terms under which this takes place in different concrete situations that diverges. In so far as an outward shift in the nature of both political and symbolic power is usually implied, the parameters in the emergent distribution of power in each particular situation will bear this characteristic.

To the extent that all current case studies of proselytizing efforts have been conducted in the broader context of an expanding market economy, one may begin by illustrating the social and economic nature of the changes focused upon by missionaries in such contexts in order to gain a

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clearer sense of their meaning and relationship to the above statements.

On a social level, the shift from local to regional or 'world' religions has one of its major recurrent counterparts in the transformations that begin to occur in the import of kin vis-à-vis non-kin relations. That is, the conversion process concurrently sponsors various sets of responses of kin to non-kin relations, which at the same time contribute to introduce modifications among and within kin groups.

These processes take place in both rural and urban settings. Yet they may also assume a number of different expressions in each of these contexts. Urban families, for example, may not only be introduced upon conversion to a sense of community which would otherwise be lacking in such settings (SELADOC 1976; Thompson 1966; Willems 1967), but to a reorganization of domestic resources and tasks, among other social means which can improve everyday life despite interaction with a broader set of political economic processes that lie beyond immediate control (see, for example, Martin 1980; Merk 1963). The impact of the missionary endeavor upon kinship relations in rural settings is commonly noted by anthropologists as well (see, e. g., Beidelman 1974; Boutilier 1978; Fins 1984; Harwood 1978; Korn 1978; Peterson 1973; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Ross 1978; Shapiro 1972; Tiffany 1978; Wolf 1951). What is important to observe for the time being is the extent to which such changes can signal new relations among family, kinship, and state structures (see, for example, Muratorio 1980).

While a tendency is frequently mentioned for networks to become more individual upon exposure to a market economy, the opposite effect, the consolidation of social units beyond the domestic units, may also occur

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(Salazar 1977; Taylor 1981; Whitten 1976). Upon conversion, whether the primary unit of production and distribution becomes the nuclear family or a wider and perhaps traditional network of exchange and trade is maintained and reinforced, must again be analyzed in each case in the context of the specific relations of production at work (Muratorio 1982; Rigby 1981).

One may generally expect, then, major and mutually exclusive differences to arise in the patterns of production and distribution between the civilizational schemes introduced by the missionary and those found among the group to be evangelized. That is, where the evangelized do not define the social nature of the missionary endeavor, the points of contention bound to emerge shall regard the differences in the relations of production and distribution among the distinct communities of people involved. Although to the extent that such a void exists, almost by definition, in the proselytizing context, the key issue is not the existence of such differences, but the way in which they are handled in the course of the missionary endeavor.

A clear example of this is put forth by Hvalkof and Aaby regarding the activities of the Summer Institute of Linguistics:

> Indian's control over their resources is not supported by a campaign against state policies which allow or carry out this pressure. Neither does the organization oppose the privatized trade and wage-labor relations which act to break down tribal social structure. Many Indian groups have had trade relations with the national society over long periods of time. As long as they traded in a limited number of commodities and as long as essential resources were available and the internal redistribution system maintained, the destructive effects of these commercial relations were minimized. The individualism and materialism which forms integral part of SIL's philosophy and day-to-day methods removes these safeguards through the resulting individualized integration into the market, the economic basis of the Indian societies will disappear and they will invariably be subdued by forces which

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> they cannot control. With the individualization and political discord brought on by SIL's intervention, the Indians will be unable to defend themselves against encroachment of their land, hunting and fishing resources. Since SIL's work tend to make moral and supernatural premises the foundation for social and political struggle and organization, the Indians will be impeded from creating new organizational forms which could strengthen their political and economic power (1981: 181-2).

As important, then, as the state processes which may foster missionary endeavor is the precise nature of the relations of production at work. These help define the apportionments that may now be required of not only 'civilized' culture, but of other instruments of survival, whether they constitute land, credits, given modes of organization, access to knowledge, or other elements. The meaning of such issues can only be defined, again, in relationship to the precise nature of the relations and means of production which emerge as crucial in particular historical contexts. The problems posed by the introduction of a specific civilizational scheme transcend the political and social realignments of inter- and intra-local ties of communication in which common expectations and working rules must develop. The changing social relations of production additionally at stake present a deeper still problem of interaction.

One must also observe, however, that while existing relations of production set parameters which instill precise meanings in the social and economic changes which ensue, different responses can emerge regarding how these key elements are addressed. The interrelationships and responses developed are in this sense neither materially nor mechanically determined by their wider context of emergence alone. Whether missionaries try to underplay their secular impact and efforts (Beidelman 1982; Stevens 1983), or actively exploit them (Hvalkof and Aaby

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1981; Loewen 1968), the practices introduced alter the internal reproduction processes issued in the face of the expansion of capitalist or nation-state structures in varying ways. Thus, while the latter affect prevailing modes of social and economic organization, including access to means and relations of production, the missionary may play an additional part by fostering specific responses to this process.

Confronted with such secular, external pressures for change, missionaries may either ignore them, exploit the havoc which they may produce to further their own endeavor, or directly intervene and try to direct the course of change. The second and third positions are by far the most prevalent (Beidelman 1982; Beckett 1978; Boutilier 1978; Greenberg 1947; Harwood 1978; Horton 1971; Hutchinson 1957; Hvalkef and Aaby 1981; Korn 1978; Muratorio 1980; Nason 1978; Wachtel 1976). Regardless of the missionary's degree of consciousness, the processes he instills will always affect as much as be affected by the particular nature of the incorporation into the broader set of processes in which he develops his work (see, in addition to a number of the sources mentioned above, Fountain 1966 and Muratorio 1982). This is when the meaning of the contending civilizational schemes and power symbols come to the forefront.

The Social and Symbolic Power of Missions

Religions may address what is most significant in the worlds of man, nature, and society by helping structure family, social, and economic relationships (Swanson 1967). This contributes to explain the power that religious symbols may have when considered in specific historical contexts. Both how categories and subjects are presented as related to one

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another and the concrete nature of the relations thereby fostered became critical.

With regard to the first aspect - how categories and subjects are related to one another - a process emerges which resembles the basis for symbolic power described by Miller as at work among the Toba peoples of Argentina:

> The term 'power' in Toba culture is not primarily concerned with political processes involving decision making and authority, but rather about human relations with the phenomenal universe in terms of the control of forces which permit the maintenance of health, harmony, and contentedness (1975: 477-8).

The nature of access to power posited may vary in different religious systems:

> The fundamental difference between Christian mysticism and Toba shamanism is that the Christian is held responsible for not appropriating Christ's power within him, while the shaman can claim that the power failed to operate regardless of the shaman's intentions. This is not to suggest that the shaman is never responible for his actions. He may choose to harm others, and he may also dissipate his power through foolishness (Ibid.: 483).

The basis for symbolic power does not as such:

> ... in fact derive from a being or entity, nor from one's political position. Rather, it takes form as a result of the structural arrangements of key symbols. It is the ability to distinguish these symbols and to bring them into a proper relationship which produces power. In this sense, power has no significance as an entity in itself. It only takes on meaning when seen as the outcome of a particular arrangement of key sysmbols (Ibid.: 475).

Power may thus be viewed as a force that can either cause or counterbalance disorders of various sorts yet emerges, finally, from the proper combination of elements (Ibid.: 483, 487). That is:

> The seat of all power is in the relationship, in the articulation of symbols which mark distinct categories. The same symbol in another context can mean something altogether different. It is the ability to communicate and manipulate these symbols which provides the necessary 'power' or 'virtue' to give social life

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its essential meaning (Ibid.: 494).

Power is not only an on-the-ground set of economic and social relations. It is set in motion and given precise meaning by particular symbolic combinations which refer in various ways to the first group of relationships. It is in this capacity that missionaries were often perceived. As expressed by Horton, "With the advent of the twentieth century --- Europeans came to be seen as symbols of power, and Christianity itself came to be seen as part of a larger order, comprising Western education, colonial administration, commerce, and industry, with which everyone had henceforth to reckon. ... [such] changes created a much more favorable climate for conversion" (1971: 86). The view that ultimately, since "gods are people, relationships with them affect and are affected by relationships with other men" has been put forth by not only Horton (Ibid.: 96), but sustained by several other scholars as well (for example, Christian 1972; Godelier 1974; Pereira de Queiroz 1969, among others).

How categories and subjects are structured in the religious message and how this is related to the wider social order remain central. This focus helps to further explain how missionaries and other members of the wider society, though often mutually opposed in a given field site, at times stand united in a larger sense. Often at issue is the consciousness and direct involvement of the missionaries in the political economic processes introduced, rather than their particular position in a given civilizational scheme (Jackson 1984; Hahn 1981).

While the distinct communities involved in the missionary context are set apart by economic and social relationships, missionaries posit

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particular modes of interaction which affect the social conditions of existence at play. In Hvalkof and Aaby's words, "Religious systems usually express a direct relation between the ideological 'organization of nature' and the economic and social organization of society" (1981: 177). This has both been noted in several ethnographic accounts of religious systems (e.g., Hussain 1976; Muratorio 1982; Silverblatt 1982; Taylor 1981; Wachtel 1976, among others) and laid the groundwork for the proposition that the major differences between the distinct communities involved are predicated upon the relations of production at work. These not only help order a given group socially and economically, but point to the social meaning of the symbolic definition a proselytizing agent issues concerning the ultimate sources of power. Leaving certain organizational categories untouched while upholding others, can both differentiate and condition what may be acted upon or not.

In so far as the symbolic power of religious missions is ultimately rendered socially meaningful in the broader context of the production relations in which it is engrained, the regional structure of production and distribution at work in Madre de Dios will be discussed in the following chapter. However, the context of changing relations of production alone will not predetermine the varying sets of responses that may either be put forth or eventually develop. Hence, it will be necessary to subsequently sharpen the focus on the precise nature of the methods employed by missionaries to further their symbolic and social power (the subjects of chapters 9 and 10) and the reasons for the varying impact these had through time (chapters 11 and 12).

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CHAPTER 8

THE REGIONAL STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

> Nicolás de Piérola said ... Roads come before temples and schools, before governmental action and the rule of law and guarantees and industries; because they are an essential condition for all these things ...
>
> Our task should not be reduced to the clearing of forests, the navigation of their rivers, the use of their trees and the catechization of their savages as has occurred up till now (Delboy 1942: 26, 48).

Although national and international developments nurtured a particular framework of missionary ideology, existing on-the-ground social realities posed serious interferences and gave social meaning to the political and religious interests underway at a broader level throughout the greater part of the twentieth century. Hence, much may be learned by considering the *social* nature of the problems missionaries thought could be reformulated through efforts at recasting each individual's morality. In this chapter I will analyze, through the economic structure of the rubber boom in Madre de Dios, the: (1) types of relations of production introduced to the area then; (2) interactions between native and outside peoples; and (3) continuities in subsequent developments.

The Relations of Production

Any attempt to generalize about the relations of production at work in Madre de Dios through time becomes impossible. Yet one can discern certain recurrent tendencies concerning both the nature of the territorial expansion of outsiders in the region and the human and economic relationships thereby posed. The rubber boom at the turn of the twentieth century can be used

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as a base for the drawing of comparisons with subsequent developments as a number of the themes introduced return, time and again, in the particular region of study.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the search for gold and particularly chinchona (Peruvian bark) reinitiated the penetration process of the Harakmbut's southern frontier along the Carabaya region. This, in turn, resulted in expressions of both hostility and withdrawal on the part of the native populations. Yet it was only at the turn of the twentieth century, with the search for rubber and, particularly, the decline of northern sources of rubber, that these penetration efforts assumed qualitatively distinct proportions and the Dominicans initiated their proselytizing efforts. Thus, although the isthmus connecting the Madre de Dios and Ucayali river basins had long been known, it was only in 1894 (when Fitzcarrald put it to use) that it began to represent a gain for rubber gatherers from the north (Aguilar 1896; Guilleaume and Delgado 1894; La Combe 1904; Robledo 1906, 1898; Stiglich 1902; Súarez 1928; Von Hassel 1904b).

The rubber consumed by Europe and the United States grew between 1850 and 1900, from 400 tons to 50-60,000 (Thorp and Bertram 1985: 99). At this same time, the population of Iquitos increased from 200 inhabitants to 20,000 (Ibid.). However, the Amazon region as a whole, provided only 10% of the rubber consumed in the world in 1910, while in Peru it accounted for 30% of exports (Bonilla 1974: 71; Flores Marín 1977a). Yet, the rubber boom had little economic impact upon the rest of the Peruvian economy (Pennano 1978: 154; Thorp and Bertram 1985: 102).

The growth in the supply of rubber from the Amazon was not a product

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Source: Alegría 1962

Map 8

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of increased levels of productivity but, rather, of the continuous incorporation through political means of both new areas of extraction and sources of under-remunerated labor (Ballón 1917; del Aguila 1979; Flores Marín 1977a, b; La Combe 1904; Olivera 1904; Ontaneda 1907; Pesce 1904; Reyna 1941; Robledo 1900; Stiglich 1908b, 1902; Valdez 1944; Villalta 1904a). The accumulation of capital required for the development of the process, like the demand for this product, originated by and large outside the country.

Numerous species of rubber plants have been identified worldwide, several of which are found in the Amazon basin. Yet it was through its various grades - dependent mostly on the transformation processes involved but often further identified by their port of embarkment for export - that it was generally differentiated in the Amazon. While rubber could be cultivated, at which time it was referred to as shiringa, in the Peruvian Amazon, the extraction of wild rubber, caucho, was by far the most common process.

The best varieties of wild rubber tended to grow below 250 meters above sea level, but its distribution was always unequal. In a hectare of land it was possible to find anywhere between 5 and 40 rubber trees. The tapping process, which required making incisions in the trees, subsequently destroyed them. This was in contrast to the extraction of shiringa which was cultivated (at approximately 150 plants per hectare), and could be harvested time and again. While a single shiringueiro could tap 300 treees in one day, a cauchero, when lucky, could hope to tap an approximate average of 10 trees per hectare (and two to three kilos per tree) (Maúrtua 1911: 141-2).

The second method offered the advantage of requiring no prior

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Chart 4

EXPORT VALUE OF RUBBER, 1880 - 1945*

1880	344,000
1885	2'725,800
1890	3'642,400
1895	2'310,000
1900	4'970,000
1905	8'530,000
1910	12'000,000
1915	5'959,440
1920	2'008,110
1925	2'210,910
1930	729,825
1935	381,616
1940	322,468
1945	9'238,000

* Soles

Source: Jaramillo n.d.

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Chart 5

EXCHANGE RATE OF SOLES PER US DOLLAR

1900	2.0725
1905	2.064
1910	2.061
1915	2.35
1920	2.26
1925	2.50
1930	3.40
1935	4.1375
1940	6.17
1945	6.50*
1950	15.43**
1955	19.18**
1960	27.30**
1965	26.82
1970	43.48
1975	45.0
1980	288.85

* Official rate

**Floating rate

Source: Jaramillo n.d.

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investment because its expanded yield depended, above all, upon the 'extensive' use of the Amazon's natural wealth (i.e., the constant tapping of new sources). As in the case of chinchona, several scientists issued forewarnings concerning the depletion of the Amazon's natural wealth and its resources' future rising costs of production, unless alternate and economic self-sustaining or regenerating means of tapping could be found. It was calculated that of the approximately 5 million kilos of rubber produced annually in the Peruvian Amazon, .3 million trees were left permanently destroyed (see, e.g., Delboy 1912a vs. La Combe 1904 on this issue).

Such forewarnings (inspired primarily upon both ecological and state concerns) were not put into practical use, in large part on account of the interests involved (Patiño 1901). The agricultural activities which could have nurtured both permanent colonization and ecological concerns were opposed by those who found more to gain from the process of primitive accumulation which characterized the rubber economy, regardless of international boundaries (see, e.g., Fifer 1970; Flores Marín 1977a; La Combe 1904; Maúrtua 1911; Melo 1921; Osambela 1896; Pando 1891; Portillo 1914; Robledo 1906, 1898; Stiglich 1902). It is in this context that colonization through foreign immigration was again proposed (Cipriani 1902). Yet various additional constraints stood in the way of the application of any conservationist policy. These may be summed up in terms of both the high costs of production (that is, extraction) of rubber <u>and</u> the rates of profits expected from such ventures. Although this will be explained later, for now it will be pointed out that all entrepreneurs could not survive the various expressions of these points of contention to the same extent.

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BRASIL

Río Purus

Río Tarahuaca

Río Embira

Río Santa Rosa

Río Chandles

Río Yacu

Río Acre

Bolivia

Río Tahuamanu

Río Manu

Río de las Piedras

Río Piedras

Río Pariamanu

Madre de Dios

Río Urubamba

Río Inambari

Río Tambopata

Río Heath

Maldonado

CROQUIS

MADRE DE DIOS

- Castilloa
- (depleted)
- Hevea brasilensi
- Hevea cuneolha

EMILIO DELBOY y D. 1912

CORDILLERA DE SANDIA Y CARABAYA

Map 9

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Regarding the first issue, high costs of production, it was the scarcity of labor and, particularly, of a source of labor willing to accept the type of remuneration offered and the risks of life often implied by the prevailing work conditions that limited the tapping of all remaining sources of rubber. It also affected the development of the means of communication which could have reduced the transport costs of rubber, people, or foodstuffs, and provided the infrastructure required for the growth of an internal market (centered upon the steadier flow of exchanges among settled or relatively self-sustaining populations) (Fifer 1970; Flores Marín 1977a; Portillo 1908).

The permanent settlement of population in the area could have well resulted in a number of reductions in the existing costs of production (for example, in local sources of not only labor but of a number of subsistence goods). Yet, an example which suggests the contrary is the case of the Acre territory of Brazil. Here an agricultural colony was developed even prior to the rubber boom on the basis of the great inflow of northeasterners pushed off their lands by the various crisis of the sugar industry beginning in the nineteenth century. This alone would not offset the effects of a major crisis, such as the collapse of the rubber boom in the Amazon at the begininning of the World War II, for the bulk of rubber producers (Aguirre 1980; R. Santos 1980; Tocantins 1979). In addition to its approximately 60,000 persons in 1900, the Acre territory did have, nonetheless, some of the finest rubber anywhere in the Amazon (Fifer 1972). The Acre controversy between 1899 and 1903 not only closed traffic through the Isthmus of Fitzcarrald for a few years but, correspondigly, augmented the amounts of rubber channeled through Brazil significantly (Ibid.; Flores Marín 1977a; Reyna 1941). Although Peruvian custom tariffs were lower

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than those of either Bolivia or Brazil, transport costs through Brazil were lower and led to a significant degree of contraband by both Bolivians and Peruvians (Ballón 1917; Flores Marín 1977a; La Combe 1904; Villanueva 1902). Zegarra suggests that Brazil's appropriation of the Acre territory in 1903 raised the country's production of rubber from 2,249 tons in 1904 to 11,270 in 1908 (1945: 62; see also Aguirre 1980 and Fifer 1972).

The attainment of a steady source of labor (whether permanent or not) also depended upon more than just the development of a given technological strategy defined on a long term basis that might prove economically and ecologically or socially sensible. The few producers who managed to survive the collapse of the rubber boom were not only to be found among the largest enterprises, in terms of both size of operation and capitals, but particularly among those who controlled or monopolized a number of the activities entailed in the extraction of rubber, and thus managed to accumulate the wealth that allowed them to subsequently diversify their productive activities (see, e.g., Pennano 1978; Pesce 1904). A prime example discussed by Fifer (1970) is that of the 'empire' built by the Suárez brothers (organized in particular by Nicolás) in northern Bolivia (see Fifer 1970; Villalta 1902; Villanueva 1902). In Madre de Dios, Máximo Rodríguez and Bernardino Perdiz provide two classic examples of persons who 'survived' the rubber boom (and were solid upholders of missionary endeavor).

As the importance of rubber grew throughout the Peruvian Amazon, many capitalists and laborers, progressively drifted into a 'green hell' in the hope of readily striking it rich. But few ever did.

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A brief analysis of who these capitalists and laborers were and what accounted for their uneven success can clarify the dynamics of the human and economic relationships which underlay the rubber economy and, to an extent, other 'boom' products in the Amazon, whether agricultural, mineral, or other (sometimes to this day).

The entrepreneurs during the rubber boom were mercantile capitalists. That is, in this context, the 'capitalist' was not one who exercised control over the means of production - if one classically defines this as the land from which laborers have been expelled and thus been made available for exploitation - but, rather, he who possessed wealth put into use - 'capitalized' - through commercial endeavor. In the Amazon this developed through a triple set of relationships, established between: (1) a foreign firm and its commercial affiliate/subsidiary (in either Iquitos or another important point of embarkment); (2) the commercial subsidiary and a number of merchants; and (3) the merchants and gatherers of wild rubber (La Combe 1904; Maúrtua 1911; Von Hassel 1904a).

At the apex stood those who had accumulated capital and could extend, through goods or money, credit to those at a lower echelon. Their return was thus derived from the interests they charged. However, more than the capacity to move capital was involved. Through commerce, large 'rubber gatherers' also consolidated fortunes by amalgamating the holdings of their less important 'counterparts' who had defaulted and accumulated debts. The ownership of steamships, for example, both contributed to and expressed these parts played through commerce.

Foreign firms thus extended credit to their commercial affiliates or

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subsidiaries in the country and both charged a given interest rate and commercialized the rubber received in Europe and the United States. The affiliate or subsidiary did basically the same with local merchants, while they repeated the operation with either rubber gatherers directly or regional itinerant merchants, who then approached the actual gatherers. The distribution of people involved in the rubber industry was thus pyramidal and the profit rates that differentiated each echelon, by no means insignifcant (see, e.g., Ballón 1917; del Aguila 1979; Fifer 1972, 1970; Flores Marín 1977a; Granadino 1918; La Combe 1904; Maúrtua 1911; Melo 1921, 1918; Pennano 1978; Portillo 1914, 1908; Robledo 1898; Villalta 1904a, b; Von Hassel 1904a).

During the rubber boom, who stood where, physically, determined the prices of goods and labor, depending on how distanced the centers of production were. The greater the distances, the lower the prices at which rubber could be purchased. In Madre de Dios the price for an arroba (15 kilos) of rubber was sixteen dollars while in Iquitos it was forty. A merchant who extended credit in Madre de Dios could obtain about a 100% profit rate (Maúrtua 1911: 152; Von Hassel 1904a). Furthermore, who was where became important for a reduction in the number of intermediaries implied the possibility of keeping a larger share of the profits. Thus, the ability to bridge greater distances, through the control of river commerce or, especially, the ownership of means of navigation, helped eliminate competitors and contributed to the development of a vertical monopoly. Paradoxically, even when many commodities could have been produced internally with relative ease, most of the goods consumed in the Amazon originated in Europe. Thus the salt consumed in the Madre de Dios, Ucayali, and Purús river basins came from Europe,

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Chart 6

FOREIGN MERCHANTS IN IQUITOS, 1903

Nationality	Number	Capital*
German	60	200,000
British	120	50,000
Brazilian	3,130	200,000
Chinese and Turquish	167	50,000
Spanish	100	?
French	35	60,000
Italian	50	30,000
Portuguese	514	?

* In Peruvian pounds (1Pp /1p/ = 10 soles)

Source: Maúrtua 1911: 139

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although it could have been obtained a short distance away (Roblede 1898).

On a regional level a number of merchants or caucheros were in charge, directly and indirectly, of distributing goods and 'purchasing' rubber once the gathering season was over. At such time workers not only purchased the goods required for the following season, but also gambled and drank, among a number of other notorious modes of expenditure. This generally led them returning to the forest further in debt than before - usually with the idea that by next season enough rubber would be found to once and for all break loose from all debts (see, e. g., Ballón 1917; Cipriani 1902; Flores Marín 1977a; La Combe 1904; Pesce 1904). Flores Marín reports a case where after three years the person owed more than twice the amount he had initially received to begin the extraction of rubber (Ibid.).

People often tried to flee from their debts or react somehow to their economic bondage. However, the relationships established not only between commercial houses, regional, and local distributors of goods (regatones), but between the local distributors and the rubber gatherers, were difficult to break. At each level they were founded on the personal knowledge, and thus political manipulation, of the person and his family, origins, local authority, or properties, when at all held (Cipriani 1902; Flores Marín 1977a). The chain of intermediaries could extend well beyond the Amazon, particularly when the sources of labor were not 'free' and had been coopted from other regions, as was common.

Although the growth and development of rubber enterprises and 'barons' (important figures), depended upon both the extension of credits and the

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Chart 7

PRICE VARIATION OF SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTS

IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE AMAZON

(1911±)*

Product	Iquitos	Upper Purús	Upper Yuruá	Madre de Dios
Rice	0.21	2.00	2.00	1.30
Sugar	0.54	2.00	2.00	1.19
Dry Beans	0.65	1.00	1.00	1.30
Lard	0.86	4.00	4.00	1.95
Flour	0.65	1.08	1.08	1.19
Milk	0.40	1.50	2.00	1.20
Salt	0.21	1.00	1.00	1.08

* Soles per kilo (except milk)

Source: Flores Marín 1977a: 90

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whole set of 'political' relationships which held in place the general '*aviamento*' process (as the personal credit system was known), other local factors influenced these developments. In this regard, three of the most significant 'technical' preconditions for the working of the system became, the: (a) widespread abandonment of agricultural production in the Amazon and the resulting shortage of regional foodstuffs for which exorbitant prices were charged; (b) general scarcity of small money and coins, which nurtured the kind of closed credit relationships that left little place for argument over profit rates; and (c) time differential between production and concumption in the extraction of rubber (see, e. g., Ballón 1917; del Aguila 1979; Flores Marín 1977a; Maúrtua 1911; Stiglich 1908a; Tejada 1907). That is, the period of time that elapsed between the beginning of the tapping season and its completion, when production could be realized, was lengthy (3 to 7 months) and most generally devoid of any alternative source of income. This greatly increased the gatherers' susceptibility to the conditions of exchange posed by both *patrones* (patrons) and merchants (see, Robledo 1898; Flores Marín 1977a).

Commerce, then, and in particular the related monopolies of capital *and* major means of transport - both of which were in foreign hands - were the key underpinnings of the rubber boom (see, e.g., Tizón y Bueno 1910). However, the growth of this industry - if it may at all be called this - depended not only on the above and the tapping of new natural supplies of rubber, as already mentioned, but on the corresponding access to tappers able to yield the kinds of profits which justified involvement in the business. While an average 'gatherer' had about 200 men working for him, a major one, such as Carlos Scharff, had 2,000 (in addition to entire 'tribes'), the minimum commonly required was about 20 men (see, e.g.,

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Chart 8

PRODUCTS EXPORTED FROM THE PERUVIAN

AMAZON BEFORE THE RUBBER BOOM

Hammocks

Cotton Cloth

Cassava Flour

Chinchona Bark

Tortoise Egg Lard

Salted Fish

Tobacco

Sugar Cane Alcohol

Sarsaparilla

Cocoa

Wax and Resins

Vanilla

Straw Hats

Jipijapa

Source: Flores Marín 1977a: 79-80

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Cipriani 1902; del Aguila 1979; Granadino 1916; Von Hassel 1904a).

Two main sources of labor were utilized in addition to the native peoples which will be discussed separately. The first source used, most generally in the north (around Iquitos, where the rubber boom in Peru began), originated among the residents of Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, and the Huallaga and Mayo valleys, where agricultural production had previously developed (del Aguila 1979; Von Hassel 1904a, b). To the south, around Madre de Dios and parts of Bolivia, the non-native sources of labor originated to a significant extent in the surrounding highland regions (for example, Sandia, Cojata, Huancané, Sina, Quiaca, Mocomoco, Italaque, and Chuma, among others), where an expansion of haciendas was taking place (del Aguila 1979; Flores Marín 1977a; Osambela 1896; Robledo 1900, 1898).

While in the north no more than about 30% of the commercial firms were directly involved in both the production and marketing activities related to the extraction of rubber. In the south both foreign and national commercial establishments were not only involved in both types of activity but also contributed to the release of their own sources of labor through their ties with the wool industry and interests centered in the highland provinces (see, Burga and Reátegui 1981; Carbajal 1908; Cipriani 1902; del Aguila 1979; Flores, Plaza, and Oré 1977; Flores Marín 1977a; Olivera 1904; Portillo 1914). These characteristics in the south meant that commercial houses could exercise a much closer control, or tighter organization, of the entire production process and a measure of reinvestment in the interest of developing a more effective set of overland communication routes (their rubber would otherwise 'flow' off to Brazil). One cannot help but wonder about the extent to which these dif-

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Chart 9

HACIENDAS IN THE DEPARTAMENTO OF PUNO

Place	1876	1915
Puno	233	373
Chucuito	49	242
Huancane	54	133
Sandia	7	199
Carabaya	2	125
Azangaro	178	611
Lampa and Ayaviri	182	1,536
Total	704	3,219

Source: Flores Marín 1977a: 107

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ferences would have persisted had the rubber boom not collapsed when it did. Sources indicate that Arana, among other well known rubber 'barons' from the north, were by that time also working in the south (Ortiz 1980; Valdez 1944).

The collapse of the rubber boom had a somewhat different impact in the north and south. Except for the notorious Putumayo region, where the bulk of the labor force was Indian, to the north both rubber tappers and itinerant merchants were primarily of regional origin (except at a relatively later date when some labor began to be imported, particularly from Brazil). In contrast, the rubber tapping process in the south was based primarily on indentured sources of labor and generally organized by firms of direct foreign origin (or closely affiliated to those in the south at the time) which from Arequipa, particularly, controlled the marketing of not just rubber but, perhaps as importantly, wool. The Boston-based Inca Rubber company proved an exception and imported about 500 Japanese laborers (Fifer 1972, 1970). While these slowly drifted into agricultural activities around the capital of Madre de Dios (Puerto Maldonado) and the raising of shiringa, particularly in Bolivia (much as the laborers to the north, who withdrew to local subsistence activities upon the collapse of the rubber boom), the bulk of laborers to the south simply abandoned the area (Ballón 1917; Lawrence 1963).

'Salaries' in the rubber enterprises had been above those in the coastal sugar and cotton plantations, where labor was similarly scarce. However, the costs of living and health and work conditions in the Amazon greatly limited the advantages posed by the higher salaries (Ballón 1917). The question, then, is what happened with the indigenous peoples of the

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Chart 10

RUBBER FIRMS ESTABLISHED IN THE PERUVIAN AMAZON, 1907

Name		Capital	Origin	Area *
1.	Sociedad The Tambopata Rubber Co. Limited	50,000 (pounds)	Great Britain	-
2.	The Inambari Pará Rubber Limited	350,000 (pounds)	"	26,500
3.	The Tambopata Rubber Sindicate Ltd.	15,000 (pounds)	"	349,620
4.	Perú Para Rubber Colombia-Washington	350,000	U.S.A.	-
5.	Companía Gomífera Paucartambo Pará	300,000 (francs)	France	-
6.	Forga, Rey de Castro y Rodríguez	-	Spain	75,287
7.	Foulkes Croker	-	France	25,000
8.	Inca Mining Co.	-	U.S.A.	841,600
9.	Inca Rubber Co.	-	"	255,000
10.	Kroheimer y Cia.	-	Germany	75,000
11.	Sociedad Gomera Marcapata	-	Great Britain	50,000
12.	Leonel Stuart	-	"	100,000
13.	Societé Financiere Sandia	-	France	30,000
14.	Pachitea Rubber Co.	-	U.S.A.	25,000
15.	Sindicate Coptoir Colonial Francais	9,000 (francs)	France	-
16.	John Lylly and Sons	100,000	Great Britain	-
17.	Peruvian Amazons	1'000,000	Anglo-Peruvian	-

* Hectares

Source: Flores Marín 1977a: 75-6

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area during this period and to what extent did they participate in or supply a labor force for the rubber industries?

The Interactions Between Native and Non-native Peoples

The rubber boom was the holocaust of the Amazonian lowland peoples. While global population figures may now be nearly impossible to estimate, various regional accounts prove illustrative. The Putumayo case, although often mentioned in the literature as a result of the political and geopolitical interests which could have affected Peru's boundaries as a nation-state, was by no means either the only or most prevalent expression of violence to which native peoples were submitted at the time. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Indian population in the southern regions of the Yurua, Purús, Acre, Manu, and Madre de Dios rivers (including the latter's affluents) was assessed at between 80,000 and 100,000 (Von Hassel 1905: 32). An estimate of the Harakmbut population at the time - most of which had not been directly visited by anyone - suggests a conservative figure of between 11,000 and 14,000 (Ibid.). This same appraisal places the entire southern population at between 30,000 and 35,000 (including non-natives). Today, official figures give a total estimate for Madre de Dios of 33,007 persons, of which only about 4,000 are indigenous peoples (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1983: vii).

Not until very recently has anyone tried to make serious estimates of indigenous peoples. Yet even by the time the above mentioned appraisals were made, enormous population losses had already occurred. Although del Aguila suggests that no more than 30% of the labor force used during the rubber boom was made up of native peoples, most populations

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Chart 11

NATIVE POPULATION ESTIMATES FOR THE SOUTHERN LOWLANDS, 1905*

Chontacampas or Chontaquiros	1,500
Machigangas	3,000 - 4,000
Campas with their subgroups	14,000 - 16,000
Pucapacuris	1,000
MASHCOS OR SIRINERIS	6,000 - 7,000
HUACHIPAIRIS	500 - 800
Amajes	300 500
Carapaches	200 - 400
TUYUNERIS	500
Andogues	2,000 - 3,000
ARAZAIRES	500 - 800
Huarayos	3,000
Pacahuaras	2,000
Chacohas	1,500
Amigos	1,500
HUAPARIS (?)	3,000 - 4,000

* Names written with capital letters may be Harakmbut

Source: Von Hassel 1905: 32

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were affected in numerous other ways by the development of that period (1979).

Thus, epidemics are noted in the Manu region between 1889 and 1892, a year before Fitzcarrald passed through the isthmus which would connect the Ucayali/Iquitos region with the Madre de Dios basin (the only major river system in Peru which does not flow north, toward Iquitos, but east, toward Bolivia and Brazil), and again in 1896 (Aguilar 1896; Valdez 1944). In addition to this, Fitzcarrald and his men violently fought the organized resistance of native Manu residents several times, which resulted in many hundred casualties (remembered to this day). These events do not diminish the significance of the more minor and frequent incidents which took place in the years this route was employed (see, e.g., La Combe 1904; Ontaneda 1907; Reyna 1941; Valdez 1944).

By the time Fitzcarrald arrived in Madre de Dios, however, not only had Bolivian and Brazilian rubber tappers been long at work along the Madre de Dios river and many of its affluents, but several indigenous groups in these areas had already been eliminated. Large numbers of both Arasaeri (Harakmbut) and Ese'eja (Tacana) peoples had been reportedly taken by force to Bolivia, where they had a higher market value (about 80 British pounds per person) (Fifer 1970; Portillo 1914). Thus, by 1905 the total number of Arasaeri was estimated at 500 to 800, while specific expeditions generally mention no more than a reduced number of families here and there.

Although epidemics took a high toll on indigenous peoples' lives prior to the establishment of direct contact with rubber gatherers, interaction between natives and non-natives during this period was furthermore

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primarily based upon the use of force. The correrías (slave raids) of Indians who were subsequently sold as a source of labor dramatically affected natives' lives (see Ballón 1917; Flores Marín 1977a; Von Hassel 1905). It is reported that in some of the haciendas founded along the Upper Ucayali the traffic of people (often to Brazil) in fact constituted the main source of income (as opposed to agriculture, as would be presumed) (see, e.g., Flores Marín 1977a; La Combe 1904; Robledo 1898; Villanueva 1902). Labor obtained particularly high prices in Brazil.

The prevailing rates in Peru, however, were 300 to 400 soles for a 10-12 year-old girl, somewhat less for one above the age of 20, and 500 for a 10-12 year-old boy (Villanueva 1902). Older men were often killed in the course of the raids and, if they survived, never proved quite as malleable a source of labor as the older boys, who were more easily and profoundly assimilated. Of the various ethnic groups, the Ashaninka became a favored source of labor - at least in the Madre de Dios area - (despite their fierce stance of opposition before anything that stood for 'Western' civilization) and fetched higher prices still than those mentioned above (Portillo 1908; Reyna 1941; Villanueva 1902). While a large number of the people who worked in the area had been captured through correrías, a significant number arrived independently, fleeing from other rubber regions in the Amazon (where the boom had developed first).

Working as intermediaries between the rubber interests and the indigenous peoples were 'Christian Indians,' who not only helped organize the slave raids but subsequently kept such sources of labor in order (see Maúrtua 1911; Mesones 1914; Reyna 1941; Tamayo 1954). Among these, the Piro were commonly favored although they lived themselves in constant

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fear of being attacked by other indigenous groups (La Combe 1904; Reyna 1941; Stiglich 1908a). However, the literature recurrently mentions the same Ashaninka acting as intermediaries in favor of rubber gatherers, and supplying them with persons of their own ethnolinguistic group - although in all likelihood members of opposing families or lineages (La Combe 1904; Reyna 1941). A similar phenomenon can be seen today in some areas of the lower Urubamba and Upper Ucayali rivers.

In addition to the great number of deaths which resulted in the course of these slave raids (where all adult men were generally killed), the work conditions and 'salaries' of these sources of labor were the worst of all (Ontaneda 1907; Robledo 1906; Von Hassel 1904b). Often, women or children would be retained by the administrators of the rubber tapping process in order to insure the submission of other family members to all demands made. Payment, when at all, was always so far below the already low values received by 'civilized' and 'Christian' workers, indigenous or not, as to now be regarded as almost no payment at all (del Aguila 1979). Furthermore, as natural forest products greatly diminished during this period, both the life conditions and capacity of native peoples to defend themselves against the encroaching society became impaired (Ballón 1917; Flores Marín 1977a; Von Hassel 1904b). It is estimated that at least 60% of the enslaved labor force never returned (Von Hassel 1904c).

Although apparently a sound business endeavor, the use of native sources of labor was rather uncertain. High mortality rates were the rule. Furthermore, natives, through either terribly violent and/or 'subtle' though effective acts of revolt, ended more than one important rubber enterprise. For example, they closed several rubber enterprises in the Manu, Carlos

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Scharff in the Río de las Piedras in 1909, the Tambopata Rubber Syndicate Limited in 1913; and that of Fermín Fitzcarrald on the Purus (Flores Marín 1977 a, b; La Combe 1904; Osambela 1898; Valdez 1944).

The rubber industry was built not only upon indigenous lives, land, and resources, but knowledge and relationships as well (see, e.g., Comercio de Lima 1901; La Combe 1904; Melo 1918; Robledo 1900; Valdelomar 1920). Although the need to cultivate a relationship with knewledgeable indigenous peoples may have been considered as no more that an initial investment 'capital' - which allowed the rubber enterprise to get started at set times and places - rubber gatherers would have been at a loss in their absence. For example, the existence of an independent native trade network of rubber in the Manu area had been reported long before Fitzcarrald ever 'discovered' the isthmus which still bears his name (Aguilar 1896; Samanez Ocampo 1980).

Since native labor was difficult to subject, the notion that came to prevail was that when such peoples could not be assimilated, they should then be simply exterminated (see, e.g., Olivera 1907; Pesce 1904; Rénique 1980; Stiglich 1902). This is what Fitzcarrald attempted to do with Manu residents, even when his 'troops' were composed not only of other rubber gatherers but, still more importantly, coopted Ashaninka and allied Piro.

Denounciation of the holocaust underway in the Amazon wad to little practical avail (Granadino 1917; Maúrtua 1911). Many people thought the rubber gatherers were the only effective 'civilizers' of indigenous peoples (Flores Marín 1977a; Pesce 1904; Portillo 1914; Stiglich 1902). In the end, several native populations in those river areas in the south where rubber had been more abundant, disappeared completely (Ballón 1917;

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Flores Marín 1977a; Pawlick 1949; Von Hassel 1905, 1904b).

Surrounded by such forces along the Inambari, Madre de Dios, and Alto Madre de Dios rivers, the Harakmbut fled into the headwater tributaries of these river areas. The two exceptions were the Arasaeri and Wachipaeri. The Arasaeri had already long been hit by rubber tappers and chinchona bark collectors, coming especially from Bolivia. They were unable to sidestep the direct impact of these activities (Gray 1984; Lyon 1975; Ontaneda 1907; Valdez 1944; Villalta 1904a; Von Hassel 1904b). The Wachipaeri were less affected, yet offered resistance to those who attempted to enter the area through the Alto Madre de Dios river (Larrabure y Correa 1904; Ontaneda 1907; Sotomayor 1900). It has nonetheless been estimated by Gray that the Harakmbut population could have been reduced by close to 95% during this period (1983: 11; see also Cipriani 1902).

These developments turned the Harakmbut into extremely hostile and active defenders of their remaining territory. All whites through the periphery of this area would fear their attacks for another 50 and 60 years. Perhaps, still worse, they also exacerbated the Harakmbut's own internal 'ethnic' conflicts (see, e. g., Dollfus 1968; Toor 1949; Valdez 1944). In order to survive a number of Harakmbut peoples were forced to retreate from the main rivers into the territories of others. At the same time the differential exposure to outsiders and their goods greatly limited and created imbalances in traditional exchange networks. This alone deteriorated further relations between sbugroups. The Harakmbut were quite heavily taxed by the rubber boom in various ways, many of which were indirect. The 'refuge area' they maintained

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constituted far less than a paradise. The Harakmbut lived in fear of each other and internal raids took place, while some groups continued to develop trade relationships with outsiders.

We do not know whether the Harakmbut's self-defense was a product of their active stance of defiance or of the fact that rubber was relatively absent in the area they occupied (although some interest existed in opening it up, apparently, to gold prospectors) (Delboy 1912b; Llosa 1906; Rueda 1980; Stiglich, et al. 1915). Many years later, the gold boom in their territory (to be discussed ahead) suggests that their social stance of defiance had been important - even when weakened at times by the internal cleavages that both the external demand on their land and the limited distribution of highly desired, but scarce Western goods exacerbated.

An Overview of Posterior Developments

The yields of competing Asian rubber plantations - developed, as with chinchona, from seeds smuggled out of the Amazon - grew rapidly. Their costs of production were substantially lower due to the means of communication available, proximity to markets, and, especially, availability of a comparatively large and inexpensive supply of labor (Peruvian labor cost five times as much). This sealed the collapse of the rubber boom, about the time World War I developed, prompting the return of Amazonian dwellers to either subsistence or agricultural activities and concerns (Oyague y Calderón 1913; Romero 1961). By 1915, Southeast Asia was already producing 100,000 tons of rubber, more than the Amazon Basin as a whole had ever produced (del Aguila 1979: 73).

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Chart 12

AMAZONIAN RUBBER SUPPLIED TO THE WORLD MARKET

Year	Percentage
1905	99.7 %
1913	55. %
1922	7. %
1937	2. %

Source: Flores Marín 1977a: 8

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Although the rubber boom held out somewhat longer in the south, the population eventually dwindled even around Puerto Maldonado and most rubber tappers fled to Bolivia, Brazil, or the Tahuamanu frontier, where diversification into concerns such as cattle and brazil nuts had been taking place (see Ballón 1917; Delboy 1936; Fifer 1972, 1970; Flores Marín 1977a; Moore 1984; Portillo 1914; Valdelomar 1920). Elsewhere, there were some efforts made to diversify into the production of barbasco (to obtain the insecticide rotenone) and sugar crops (for the production of alcohol), particularly by way of haciendas along the Alto Madre de Dios river. But, in general, not much happened until the early 1930's, when gold prices soared and the Carabaya region witnessed an onslaught of people again (see Ballón 1917; Delboy 1937; Ericsson 1936; Rueda 1980).

The rubber holocaust left misery in its place, while the few efforts the state made to the contrary proved fruitless. The rubber boom had been set in motion by foreign capital, which retained the major part of the benefits obtained (del Aguila 1979; R. Santos 1980).

Although Peru's President Leguía (between 1919 and 1930) tried to foster both the construction of roads (through the conscription of local labor) and the colonization of the area (particularly with Russian colonists), the laborers of highland Puno (including those in charge of making inroads into the lowland Marcapata valleys) rebelled and withdrew from this task. The immigrant colonists did not receive the support expected from the state and were also forced to leave the area (Jassani 1936; Rueda 1980). Nevertheless, a number of Peruvians, particularly from Cusco, took advantage of some of the initial support given to these colonists and settled opposite them in the area around Quincemil (Marcapata valley). Some of these people were political opponents of Leguía himself (Rueda 1980).

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When gold prices rose, the colonists that had remained acted not only as intermediaries - that is, distributors of subsistence goods and buyers of gold - for the major commercial houses of Cusco, but also developed agricultural activities which helped supply the large numbers of seasonal gold workers who began to appear (Rueda 1980). From Cusco, the owners of the grocery stores looked after the means of communication into the area (Ibid.).

Settled by now in the traditional territory of the Arasaeri, many of those interested in gold attempted to continue their advance along the other rivers that carried gold and also descended from the Puno highlands (Cornejo 1943; Rueda 1980). Incursions into the remainder of the Arasaeri territory, down the Inambari river, took place then. Numerous people sought to enter the Colorado or Karene river area, including the Punkiri, Chilive, and other affluents (Rueda 1980). It was even argued that a road built to the Karene would constitute the shortest route between the departments of Cusco and Madre de Dios (a similar argument had been made for the same reasons at the time of the rubber boom, although when compared to now, much less forcefully).

Along with the continued interest in gold, the development of World War II led to a renewed search for both cultivated and natural sources of rubber. At this time, the United States government promised through a number of treaties signed with each of the Amazonian countries, to purchase rubber at set prices. A number of exploratory trips also took place. The Province of Tahuamanu, where Máximo Rodríguez had long diversified into rubber plantations along with cattle, received special support, while the Karene river area was surveyed under

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Map 10

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Chart 13

GOLD PRODUCED IN PERU, 1905 - 1980*

1905	776.591
1910	707.923
1915	1,690.561
1920	1,951.738
1925	3,420.378
1930	2,766.320
1935	3,451.280
1940	8,748.141
1945	5,370.364
1050	3,964.401
1955	5,310.837
1960	4,000.000
1965	3,271.563
1970	3,349.145
1975	3,135.200
1980	4,915.000

* Kilograms

Source: Jaramillo n.d.

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the direction of the anthropologist Paul Fejos. A Dominican priest accompanied the expedition and initiated the first permanent contact to be established with the Harakmbut in the area. Curiously, on an international level, not much came initially of these exploratory trips: no new economic enterprises developed in the Karene, and the Tahuamanu rubber production was used to supply the increasing national demand for this product instead. Madre de Dios thus provides anywhere between 75 and 80% of all the rubber produced in the country today (Moore 1984).

In the '40s the North American company Asher and Kates began to raise barbasco (traditionally used by lowlanders for fishing purposes) in the Q'osñipata valley. The company withdrew in 1948, when a smallpox epidemic developed, killing about 80% of the Wachipaeri population (Moore 1980). Then in 1953, Asher and Kates changed its name to Exportadora El Sol and went into the brazil nut 'industry' around Puerto Maldonado (Ibid.).

A third industry, which developed both in the Marcapata and Q'osñipata valleys, was the production of sugar cane alcohol. Yet it became unprofitable after the taxes on alcohol were raised in the late '50s (a measure designed to favor the large-scale production of the by far more economically significant coastal enterprises). Thereafter, the sugar cane alcohol produced in Q'osñipata supplied mainly the regional peasant market.

Roads finally reached Q'osñipata in 1953 and Quincemil in 1947. These were continued then to Puerto Maldonado, in 1965, and Shintuya, in 1968. Close to forty years had elapsed since the collapse of the rubber boom.

In this period, the discourse concerning Amazonian development had recurrently centered around the need to foster agriculture as the under-

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Instituto Geográfico Militar

road
road
road (planned)
air strip

Río Chandless
Río Acre
Iñapari
Río de las Piedras
Río Tahuamanú
Iberia
Río Alto Manú
Fizcarrald
Río Lidia
Río Manú
Río Manuripe
Río Providencia
Río de los Amigos
Manú
Río Pariamanú
Río Madre de Dios
Alto Madre de Dios
Río Azul
Pto. Maldonado
Río Inambari
Río Tambopata

MADRE DE DIOS

Map 11

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pinnings of colonization and progress (see, e.g., Barreda 1952; Delboy 1938, 1937; Ericsson 1922; Larrea 1929; Szyslo 1947, 1943). Without roads, agricultural goods could not be marketed, however. And once the roads arrived, agricultural production did not thrive in Madre de Dios, except in rare instances and mostly for local consumption (e.g., around Puerto Maldonado and the Tahuamanu Province, where some people were steadily settled and involved in the rubber and brazil nut 'industries'). The extraction of lumber became the major focus of activity instead, although coffee and cocoa were also produced to some extent in the Marcapata valley. However, it was during the period when these latter products obtained, along with gold and tea, a high market price, that the roads into the lowlands were first built (Baca 1983: 21). While the lumber extracted from Madre de Dios was never comprehensively registered as it should have been, it appears that no more than about 6% of the lumber extracted nationally came from this area (Moore 1984: 317). The roads, nonetheless, increased the existing regional imbalances, which not only contributed to the further external economic centralization of the area's resources, particularly in Arequipa and Lima, but relegated Cusco to a secondary position (Brisseau 1970; Guillén 1982).

In the '70s, the gold prices soared once more, giving birth to an overwhelming gold rush, which despite minor ups and downs, continues to this day. As opposed to the gold rush of the '30s in the area around Quincemil, where gold was 'harvested' within the same general area (thus permitting the production of subsistence goods among those who stayed year-round), the more recent gold rush led to a thorough incursion into nearly all of the region bathed by the rivers which descend from Puno. This includes the territory occupied by the

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Harakmbut, who before then maintained themselves along the margins of the larger society. The 1977 discovery that gold could also be found in the ancient river beds, led people to the destruction of the forest above these river beds and in the process, the most fertile soils that exist in the area for agricultural production. Once more, the law of economic accumulation in the area came to entail 'the continuous incorporation through political means of both new areas of extraction and sources of under-remunerated labor.'

Despite the existence of certain state laws which in principle: (1) limited the number and extension of the land grants which could be obtained for gold mining; (2) prohibited the development of debt-bondage relationships; and (3) converted gold into a state monopoly whereby all producers would be obliged to sell their gold to the state-owned Banco Minero, many of the 'informal' productive strategies on-the-ground continued to resemble the underlying relations of production at work in Madre de Dios during the rubber boom.

Thus, concerning land grants (as also occurred although apparently on a more reduced scale during the rubber boom), people tried to control the maximum amount of land possible in order to be able to tap new sources of gold which, in Madre de Dios, is found always in the form of dust mixed in with sand, silt, and pebbles. Given the existence of the current legislation prohibiting this, people generally use either other people's names as a front, and then charge a rent or/and incorporate through commercial activities the gold of small producers over extensive territories. In this second strategy coercion is facilitated by the fact that the process of gaining access to a legal mining grant is a relatively onerous endeavor

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which most small producers cannot afford to carry out. This continues to place them in the hands of the more powerful miners.

Peruvian law, furthermore, distinguishes subsoil rights from land rights (or that which stands above the soil). Thus, land grants for working gold are often superimposed on areas used for subsistence or other purposes by both native peoples and colonists. The impact upon these two types of population is different essentially because native peoples survive on the basis of the conservation of their natural resources, given that their whole life is based upon the land they own.

Concerning the development of debt-bondage relationships, these are nearly impossible to curtail as a result of the still unconsolidated or marginal presence of state structures in the countryside and the economic context of the highland populations which surround Madre de Dios. Cusco, Puno, and Apurímac are among the most impoverished departments of Peru (see, e.g., Brisseau 1972; Caballero 1981; E. Gonzales 1982; Martínez 1969). Largely rural, these departments, demonstrate the negative terms of exchange currently underway in Peru between 'city' and 'countryside' and the related process of social differentiation which renders ever increasing sectors of the population vulnerable to grossly under-remunerated and unequal economic relationships (see Cotlear 1979; Caballero 1981).

Regarding the commercialization process, it has been estimated that close to 80% of the gold produced in Madre de Dios is in all likelihood never registered (Documento de Trabajo n.d.). It leaves the country through contraband, most commonly to Brazil and Bolivia, where the going international price of gold tends to remain anywhere from 15 to 25% above that paid by the Banco Minero. Yet this does not account for all of the gains derived

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UCAYALI

BRASIL

BOLIVIA

CUSCO

PUNO

Sorce. Centro Eori

NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN MADRE DE DIOS – 1986

1- Palma Real
2- Villa Santiago
3- Infierno
4- SHINTUYA
5- San José Karene
6- Puerto Luz
7- Diamante
8- Boca Inambari
9- El Pilar
10- Sta. Rosa Huacaria
11- Pto. Arturo
12- Queros
13- Barranco Chico
14- Bajo Piedras
15- Shiringayoc
16- Sonene
17- Alerta
18- Palotoa
19- Qda. Fierro
20- Tayakome
21- Mauchinevi
22- Marinahua
23- Yaminahua
24- Tres Islas
25- Yura

LAND TITLED | Recognized land | △ Unrecognized land

Map 12

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from the illegal commercialization of gold which, as with rubber, entails not only paying poorly but selling dearly.

Additionally, the illegal merchants of gold often participate in a wider network of commercial exchanges. Those at the top on the 'regional' level tend to be Brazilian, Bolivian, and, when Peruvian, generally from either Lima or Arequipa (the two major cities in the country). In addition to generally speculating with mining grants, they approach small producers with merchandise which they overprice for the same 'technical' reasons as in the case of rubber: the scarce existence of both subsistence goods and money on a regional level (the latter because the Banco Minero 'somehow' manages to frequently run out of the cash needed to pay for the gold produced) and the time differential involved between production and consumption, particularly acute among those temporary workers whose pay is generally withheld until the end of the 'season' (of either work or calendrical). Finally, charges are added because of the distances and 'costs' involved in the transport of merchandise to the mining centers. In the end, the small producer gets paid less for his gold than through the Banco Minero. He also buys merchandise at truly exhorbitant prices while becoming progressively indebted (or 'bonded') through the credit that may have had to be extended to him in the process. In this latter aspect, small producers generally find it difficult to meet the requirements set by the state for the extension of credit through a bank since, among other things, a legal gold mining title is required.

Once more, one finds both a pyramidal distribution of people participating in the gold economy and, as a prerequisite for standing at the upper echelons, a measure of prior accumulation of capital which,

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Chart 14

ESTIMATES OF GOLD PRODUCED IN MADRE DE DIOS

(1980 - 1985)

Year	Production*	Value**	State Tax (3%)**
1980	1'274,017	5,878'638	176'356,183
1981	1'968,553	9,356'352	279'124,578
1982	1'502,858	9,901'830	285'814,501
1983	1'401,909	24,299'972	728'981,601
1984	1'515,564	49,483'793	1,484'513,799
1985	1'750,000	131,250'000	3,939'500,000

* Grams

** Soles

Source: Documental del Perú 1986: 126.

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Chart 15

GOLD PRODUCTION IN PERU DURING 1983

REGION	KILOS
Madre de Dios	1,407.346
Puno	781.760
Northern Jungle	61.577
Central Jungle	67.726
Cusco	278.833
Trujillo	99.093
Arequipa	6.937
Nazca	12.206
Lima	119.552
Húanuco	44.786
Total	2,816.816

Source: Gray 1986: 47.

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once expanded, again leaves very little behind. The difference lies in the fact that today, those who stand at the apex are either multinationals or relatively large firms, while those who stand at the bottom are more numerous than ever (see Càballero 1981; Vérdera 1983). This may be what such a process leaves behind, over time, nationally.

Perhaps not so paradoxically, the extractive process is basically the same among both large and small producers. All must manually separate the particles of gold from its surrounding materials. The difference lies in the velocity of new areas to be covered and, thus, people employed. Paraphrasing Thomas Moore (1984: 313), one may distinguish four types of producers. The more humble miners, known as chichiqueros, have a precarious existence, minimum amount of tools, and work wherever they can find a spot. In the second case one finds the mining enterprises whose land has either been legally granted to them by the state or rented from a speculator. These enterprises work with two or three partners, may hire peons, and possess a water pump. The median enterprise may have several land grants that are exploited with heavier machinery (such as caterpillar tractors). The large enterprises are generally multinational or state corporations which obtain or rent their rights over large extensions of land that they then explore through higher-level technology yet exploit only at the right 'moment.'

The small producer, who accounts for the bulk of the population in the area, thus leads a life where luck and violence remain major components of his precarious participation in this 'industry.' Today, as one travels and stops at various work posts, one finds a largely male population, often ill with malaria, living not only in poorly built houses (at times four

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wooden posts with no more than a plastic cover tied over them), but close to uninhabitable swampy areas (frequently a product of the holes they have carved to obtain gold from the ancient river beds). Trading posts are commonly 'over populated' with canteens (that often sell subsistence goods as well), where people gamble long into the night, often listening to either the heart wrenching boleros of José Feliciano, Mexican rancheras, and, at times, 'hard rock,' while becoming progressively indebted. State representatives remain absent or simply uninterested in acting against the prevailing anarchy of the gold economy. Temporary workers who seek to go home may be confronted with enormous debts or get violently assaulted and robbed (if not killed) when trying to leave, while the in-fighting among gold workers over mining sites (and sometimes just anything) may assume variedly violent proportions (see, e.g., CODEH-PA 1983; Documento de Trabajo n.d.).

Natives, who are either precarious or small producers, suffer constantly from land invasions, itinerant merchants, and the economic and health effects of their involvement in the mining industry. There, profits are gained through the commercialization as opposed to production process, and those who stand to gain possess capital accumulated elsewhere although expanded locally by political means.

Thus, Madre de Dios has to this day no more than approximately 33,007 inhabitants officially registered in an area which covers 78,402.71 km^2 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1983: vii, x). Considering that it is surrounded by some of the most impoverished and populated highland departments of Peru - that is, Puno, Cusco, and Apurímac - it is not 'civilized' to the eyes of many members of the Peruvian nation-state. One can see that this is in large part because its economy is still mainly

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Chart 16

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF GOLD WORKERS

Type	1980	1982
Large Producers	3	4
Medium Producers	600	600
Small Producers	6,000	2,000
Native Peoples	200	200
Peons	20,000	9,000
Total	26,803	11,804

Source: Documento de Trabajo n.d.: 6

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Chart 17

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF GOLD MINERS

Place	1975	1981
Cusco	80.68	55.5
Puno	8.13	12.2
Apurímac	7.46	7.5
Arequipa	2.03	5.3
Lima	0.68	7.3
Moquegua	0.34	
Loreto	0.34	1.10
Bolivia	0.34	

Sources: Aznar and Lúna 1979 : 31 (1975)
Moore, personal communication

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Chart 18

LARGE MINING COMPANIES IN MADRE DE DIOS, 1978 - 1983

	Name (year of entry)	Origin of Capital	Rivers Where Working	Native Populations Affected
1.	AUPERSA (1978)	Greece, U.S., Peru	Madre de Dios (Laberinto)	None
2.	AOSORSA (1978)	Peru, U.S.	Huaypethue, Pukiri	Amarakaeri Sapiteri
3.	CENTROMIN/ PERU (1978)	Peru (state)	Madre de Dios, Inambari	Toyoeri, Ki-sambaeri
4.	RIO FENIX, S.A. (Rio Tinto Zinc) (1981)	Great Britain	Pukiri	Amarakaeri, Sapiteri
5.	Ruby Mining Corp. (1981)	U.S.	Palotoa, Ka-rene	Machiguenga, Amarakaeri
6.	Coricancha, S.A. (1981)	Peru	Madre de Dios, Amigos	None
7.	Texas Gulf., Inc. (1982)	U.S., France, Canada	Madre de Dios, Amigos, I-nambari	Amarakaeri, Toyoeri, Ki-sambaeri
8.	South American Placers International (SAPI) (1983)	U.S.	Pukiri	Amarakaeri, Sapiteri
9.	Rio Oro, S.A. (1983)	U.S.	Madre de Dios, Inambari	Amarakaeri

Source: Moore, personal communication.

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focused around the extraction of highly profitable natural resources, particularly, gold and lumber. In such a context, more intensive agricultural activities are not only unprofitable but remain unable to compete with the extractive industries in terms of access to land, commodity prices, freight charges, and sources of labor, among other prerequisites for their development. Although in the period between 1973 and 1975 a number of explorations for oil were carried out throughout Madre de Dios, to this day nothing more has come of this.

If the obstacles posed in the colonization and 'civil' incorporation of the area into the Peruvian nation-state were indeed of social - as opposed to individual - nature, how did the Dominicans approach the Harakmbut in these circumstances with the ideology they held? What postures did they assume in practice before the prevailing political economy, with what results, and why?

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Chart 19

POPULATION SIZE AND GROWTH BY NATURAL REGIONS

Year	Natural Regions				
	Peru	Coast	(Lima City)	Highlands	Jungle
1940					
population	6'207,977	1'759,573	(645,172)	4'033,952	414,452
percentage	100.0	28.3	(10.4)	65.0	6.7
1961					
population	9'906,746	3'859,443	(1'845,910)	5'182,093	856,210
percentage	100.0	39.0	(18.7)	52.3	8.7
1972					
population	13'538,208	6'242,993	(3'302,523)	5'953,293	1'341,922
percentage	100.0	46.1	(24.4)	44.0	9.9
1981					
population	17'031,221	8'512,944	(4'600,891)	6'704,390	1'813,887
percentage	100.0	50.0	(27.0)	39.4	10.6
Rate of Growth (percentage)					
1940-1961	2.2	3.8	(5.1)	1.2	3.6
1961-1972	2.9	4.5	(5.5)	1.2	4.1
1972-1981	2.6	3.5	(3.7)	1.3	3.4

Source: Aramburú 1982: 8

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Chart 20

MAJOR ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF MADRE DE DIOS

Product	Location	Total Estimated	Total Produced in 1984
Brazil Nuts	Tambopata Province	185'715,720 (kilograms)	4'792,728 (kilograms)
Gold	Huaypethue and Cuichive (major areas)	48'000,000 (ounces)	1'515,564 (ounces)
Lumber	59.82% of Madre de Dios (4'690,000 hectares)	525'848,000 (cubic meters)	16,105 (cubic meters)
Rubber	Tahuamanu Province	752,000 (hectares)	206,000 (kilograms)

Source: Documental del Perú 1986: 122.

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Chart 21

PERUVIAN EXPORT VALUES BY ECONOMIC SECTORS, 1890-1980*

	Agriculture	Mining	Fishing	Industry
1890	11'827,731	6'186,813		
1895	9'984,375	3'796,875		
1900	26'532,300	17'988,000		
1905	39'149,985	10'938,966	2'302,940	
1910	43'151,863	22'637,042	1'414,815	
1915	57'609,040	43'782,870	3'456,542	
1920	264'781,170	60'017,065		
1925	107'665,560	94'180,175		652,518
1930	83'066,720	108'553,100		10'607,000
1935	115'537,570	174'890,970		18'535,438
1940	139'599,850	203'718,380		34'494,149
1945	406'350,000	199'125,000	6'075,000	
1950	1,644'838,000	1,019'923,000	87'951,000	234'536,000
1955	2,282'420,000	2,217'208,000	226'324,000	469'910,000
1960	3,993'990,000	5,675'670,000	1,365'000,000	791'700,000
1965	4,352'886,000	7,780'482,000	4,980'474,000	783'144,000
1970	7,213'332,000	21,144'324,000	14,696'240,000	2,587'060,000
1975	17,602'785,000	24,109'425,000	9,295'200,000	3,410'176,500
1980	65,280'100,000	747,524'950,000	56,325'750,000	18,197'550,000

* Soles

Source: Jaramillo n.d.

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CHAPTER 9

MEANS OF PROSELYTIZATION

The extent to which missions may affect the core of a group's identity in a given context can initially be perceived through the specific means employed to incorporate those being evangelized into the wider society. These means crystallize what is at stake in conceptualizing the nature of power and power relations, including the social import of varying definitions of what is to be considered sacred or profane. The following discussion will thus consider, the: (1) general preconditions of religious proselytism; (2) areas of social transformation most commonly affected; and (3) resulting pressures on the internal reproduction processes of religious converts.

Some Preconditions

One prerequisite in the establishment of a mission is that it be viewed as an alternate source of power (see, e.g., Arcand 1981; Beidelman 1982; Ross 1978; Salamone 1980). Nonetheless, some pose the ideational significance of the way the missionary presents himself as of greater import, if he is to be received (Loewen 1967; Powlison 1975; Wonderly and Nida 1963). But there is still more at issue (Loewen 1968; Miller n.d.; Nida 1958).

Regardless of whether the missionary's sources of external support are substantial or not, he must first employ all the goods, services, and demeanor at his disposal toward the apparent benefit of those with whom he seeks to work. The major mechanisms used, then, entail both ideation-

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al and material elements which together bear social signification. The missionary is generally most conscious and well prepared in this respect, even tending in more recent times to seek training in the social sciences beforehand.

Very often, the missionary tends to be regarded as an additional source of power, whether by all involved or by a select and strategic few, due to the disruption amidst which he generally begins his activities and regardless of what he may be offering specifically. This requisite exists in its most accentuated form at the beginning. It should thus be considered apart from those broader processes defining the eventual social impact of the mission. Moreover, the means employed to introduce a particular religious message, much as in political endeavors, will paradoxically not always tell much about the social ends and programs they introduce.

The power vacuum generally existent at the outset in the context of conversion expresses the inability to manage current social and economic conditions of living among those whose allegiance is being sought at a given moment. That missionaries do not or cannot always foresee or control this precondition of their work is evidenced by their recurrent failures when it is absent. Thus, scholars often mention the initial exhibitions of superior technology, material wealth, and military mastery; onslaughts of colonists; dispensing of tools, new crops, medicine, and social services, in addition to other means of indirect and direct coercion or alternate sources of power extant where proselytizing is initiated (see Beidelman 1982; Boutilier, et al. 1978; Furneaux 1969; Hemming 1978; Loewen 1968; Salamone 1980; Salazar 1977; F. Santos 1980,

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among others). Often, these traits are not a product of the missionaries themselves but of other external agents. Yet they may still be attributed or viewed as related to the missionaries. This can either confront the missionary with an additional set of problems, if they become associated with adverse external powers, or aid him, when a generalized expectation of healing efficacy is bestowed upon him.

Such external shows of power contribute to the expansion of the missionary endeavor in overall terms when few other favorable conditions for proselytizing exist within the group itself. Yet the means described are heavily dependent upon external support. Their results thus remain fragile and susceptible to abrupt changes and withdrawals at a moment's notice.

Nevertheless, internal cleavages in the group to be evangelized may also be utilized by the missionary. This entails winning over persons who both occupy critical positions in kin, trade, or ethnic networks, among other religious or political leadership roles, and have an interest in furthering their own positions (Butt 1967; Peterson 1973; Salamone 1976; Shapiro 1972; Taylor 1981; Turner 1967; Van Binsbergen 1976). These socio-structural or cultural cleavages work through the values held by the group of people to be evangelized, whether they come to the forefront as a result of pressures on ideology or practice. Missionaries may also attempt to manage cultural principles and rules of interaction through drama and rhetoric, modes of approximating key cosmological concerns or principles, among various other indigenous values of both trivial and critical order (see Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Kietzman 1958; Miller 1971; Powlison 1975). Some anthropologists who focus upon these latter concerns,

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particularly those who are simultaneously involved in religious proselytism, tend to accord these causal weight. Yet this position disregards the circumstances amidst which missions develop and social transformations ensue (Kietzman 1958; Tippett 1972).

Regardless of how meaningful the religious message proves to be or the extent to which it may draw on external sources of support, ambiguities in the communication process usually will emerge since the codes of 'distinct communities' of people are involved. Such ambiguities, whether ideological or practical, may become an important element of missionization since their vagueness makes them appear responsive to different needs in existence at times (Miller 1975; Muratorio 1982). Muratorio deems such 'grey' areas of signification a product of the failure of distinct modes of production to articulate clearly, while Shapiro considers they emerge from the gratuitous presence of non-proselytizing missionaries for whom the faith conveyed - as opposed to religion - derives its strength from its lack of pre-set referents (1983). They are also considered a constituent element of the distinction that may be drawn between systems of ideas and ideologies (Gellner 1978).

The vital need to define new terms of interaction, given the context of disruption and social breakdown, seems to underlie the initial receptivity to the missionary endeavor among either the select few singled out as intermediaries or the population at large. Furthermore, such disruptions are frequently enhanced, whether knowingly or not, by proselytizing agents. One may say that the initial responses among those to be evangelized to the presence of an army, rubber gatherers, airplanes, caterpillar trucks, epidemics, unimagined gifts and goods, colonists, the

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dissolution of households or families, a new urban environment or market economy, the onset of an incapacity to obtain needed means of subsistence, and the exacerbation, purposely at times, of internal cultural cleavages, are likely to call forth the 'messianic' or 'millenarian' expectations amidst which missionaries tend to introduce their endeavors more easily (Loewen 1968; Worsley 1968).

Despite the enormous variation in the types of social projects introduced by missionaries, they may either acknowledge or conceal the concrete historical and political economic conditions confronted by those to be evangelized. A case in point is the introduction of Methodism into the English working class of the early nineteenth century, which created a set of correspondences with middle class utilitarianism outside of the consciousness of the converts (Thompson 1966). This type of issue brings the analysis of the social impact of missions close to that of ideologies in general, since how given surroundings and interactions are to be interpreted is fundamentally at issue. It also differentiates the endeavors of diverse kinds of missionaries most clearly, since it directly affects the capacity to survive of those being evangelized.

Social Transformations

At a first level of approximation, the changes that may be introduced can be quite concrete, yet of varying benefit to the population involved. The anthropological literature, however, mainly details those developments which ensue in rural settings. For urban settings, mention normally made of the sense of 'community' that may be introduced where anomie previously prevailed, or, of the rechanneling of family resources and relationships marked by drinking, extra-marital affairs, and social

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fragmentation (Desan 1983; Thompson 1966; Willems 1967). However, in urban settings, the possibility of a group response to the enormous economic and social demands placed on individuals appears to be the major factor involved. In contrast to the valued sense of 'community' lies the social decomposition in everyday life. This is associated with the development of what are variously termed as 'status,' 'prestige,' or social classes. While divergent interpretations exist regarding the specific population groups most likely to undergo such 'decomposition,' they are often thought to be likely candidates for 'leftist' movements as well, in urban as much as in rural settings (Nida 1958; Reina and Schwartz 1974). The sense of social security which may derive is not necessarily only subjective. Access to job information or training, health, education, and other welfare services may have added practical benefit as well.

In rural settings the introduction of a particular all-encompasing civilizational scheme is more clearly at work. It may, however, be given a specific bent by distinct proselytizers. Where efforts are made to develop a closer integration with the nation-state, corresponding patterns are usually fostered in residence, work, and market, among other forms of social cooperation and distribution (Beidelman 1982, 1974; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Muratorio 1982; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Shapiro 1972). There is a tendency to develop nucleated centers, if not always settlements, in which economic and social transactions may be centralized. Individual family housing structures are also frequently promoted. Along with these changes, come modifications in the distribution of work and time, and in the resources and manner in which they are put to use. Furthermore, these modifications are given a specific direction by the missionary through various economic, technologic, and social guidelines (see the above

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mentioned sources). Some missionaries sponsor new endeavors in response to the pressures put on them by the people with whom they work. However, this is not everywhere or even usually the case (Dalle 1983; Shapiro 1983; Urban 1984).

The most significant changes appear to be introduced through means of education. These changes not only help consolidate specific relationships to the natural world, but also social patterns of cooperation and distribution. In so far as the new skills and knowledge are provided by way of a religious institution, morals and correct behavior are commonly emphasized above technical aspects. Such norms may even become the criterion by which missionization is judged to have been successful (see, for example, Beidelman 1982; Boutilier 1978; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Muratorio 1982; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Ross 1978, among others). This may produce individuals ill-suited to control their current conditions of existence - i.e., second-grade citizens. Furthermore, since much time may now be devoted to new and not altogether optimal activities, it will alienate persons from their own still assured subsistence base (Arcand 1981; Beidelman 1982; Counts 1978; Forman 1978; Hughes 1978; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Muratorio 1982; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Shapiro 1972; Smith 1981).

The concept of 'industrial mission,' where work and worship go hand in hand, expresses this interrelationship in which each aspect reinforces the other (see, for example, Beidelman 1982; Boutilier 1978; Fountain 1966; Harwood 1978). People are required to spend their time and energy in the mission, but are removed from the production processes over which they may still retain partial control. Thus, they cease to rely on their remaining sources of work and find themselves forced to seek alternate means of subsistence through the mission station (see,

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for example, Shapiro 1972). This contributes to the self-reproduction of the proselytizer's 'social message.' De-education may thus foster increased dependency (Hvalkof and Aaby 1981).

Yet the changes introduced in the terms of social cooperation and distribution may strike even deeper. The prohibition of practices which help define relations of production in a number of settings, particularly rural ones, such as polygamy, premarital sexual intercourse, cross-cousin marriage, concubinage, female genital excision, initiation rites, blood brotherhood covenants, among other kinship regulations, has repercussions far beyond those readily apparent or seemingly simply moral (Beidelman 1982; Leacock 1980; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972; Rothenberg 1980; Siskind 1978). The transition from gifts to commodities may, as Hvalkof and Aaby show, jeopardize the entire system of cooperation and reciprocal distribution by removing the social mechanisms that provide the major defense against an encroaching market economy (1981: 190; see also Shapiro 1972; Vickers 1981).

The changes in the structure of production introduced by the mission operate in the context of a wider set of changes in the political economic significance of the target region. Missions thus bring forward not only different activities and ways of spending energy, but capabilities for transforming energy as well. Thus, the implanting of social relationships which structure these activities is as important as the type of labor activity introduced; that is, as the shifts in the social relations of production introduced. Rigby gives an example of this among the Maasai-speaking peoples of East Africa:

> ... the missionaries dealt the coup de grace to their evangelizing efforts among the pastoralists by their moral support for

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> all methods used to make East Africans labor for them, the government, or the settlers, even to the use of forced labor. ...
>
> 'Work' ... [thus] meant Africans working for settlers, missionaries, or government, [and] was hailed as a virtue in itself, a moral naturally taken up by the settlers to justify their demands ... The missionaries' presentation, through control of African education, of this essentially alienated form of ideology and practice to the pastoralists, combined with their obvious identification with settlers and government (their 'praxis), presented ... an unresolved problem. Viewing the discrepancy - one might say gulf - between missionary ideology and praxis from the fundamental unity of pastoral ideology and praxis engendered by the unique relations of production of the pastoralist social formation, they could accept in sincerity the friendship of individual missionaries, but not the ideological concept of the <u>kind</u> of Christianity the latter espoused.
>
> This ideological content was basically capitalist, individualized, and tied to the essentially inegalitarian notion of the benefits to be derived from laboring for someone else ... the missionaries ... demonstrated their willingness, even eagerness, to act as the harbingers of land alienation, commoditization, and labor exploitation, all antithetical to both pastoralist praxis and discourse ... (1981: 123-5).

The association of work and education with given forms of social distribution and production relations reappears time and again. World view and education thus provide not only types of abstract discourse or practice regarding the interaction of man and universe, but, simultaneously, empower new modes of interaction with the wider social domain and in the apportionment of its 'fruits.'

Missionaries 'teach' populations affected by changes in inter- and intra-local relationships to produce in ways that alter the nature, and thus chances, of survival within the wider society. It must be remembered that production entails not only access to factors of production but to all that is needed to put these into use - whether particular types of knowledge, social relationships, tools, credits, or other (a related point is made in Godelier 1978). Who gets what, in a wide sense, in the exchange of the fruits of labor is thus of key significance. But while missions

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and merchants frequently appear together throughout history, much more than cash or objects of value are at stake in the exchange processes that ensue. 'Who is entitled to what, how, and when' has signification not only for a given moment but may go beyond this and define the terms of social reproduction for the group of people being evangelized. Understood as more than the social repositioning of family members, it is the prerequisites proposed for social reproduction that constitute the core of a mission's social impact.

Processes of Social Reproduction

Missionaries incorporate those being evangelized into the wider society in social and economic terms. However, this simultaneously redefines the internal reproduction processes of the group involved, as the stance to be taken before social and economic conditions of existence is brought to the forefront. Missionaries curtail through moral justifications and prohibitions, backed by ideological and material control of critical social conditions of existence, both the praxis and world view of those being proselytized. In the process, terms are initially set for drawing distinctions between what is to be valued from what is to be undermined. That is, what is to be considered important or irrelevant; how access to symbolic and practical power are to be achieved or lost; what is sacred and what is profane; how 'half' or 'incomplete' individuals are to be distinguished from 'full' or 'complete' individuals; among other social canons of 'ultimate verity.' These, however, find clearest expression in the distinctions drawn between the natural and supernatural realms of life; that is, between 'man's given universe' and 'god's given universe,' or, between what man can and should act upon from what he

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must let be.

Hence, missionaries bring not only explicit conceptions and practices egulating the interaction of man and his social conditions of existence but implicit ones, in which a supernatural and intractable nature will be attributed to given elements. The nature of the interactions generated supernaturally are made to remain outside the domain of man's capacity to act upon them. Which social conditions of existence man may be said to transform and which not may underlie the key social impact of the missionary endeavor. The means and conceptions regarding social reproduction processes entails the stance assumed before a given social identity, tradition, or history as it does before a set of production relations governing the apportionments of the fruits of labor, the natural or economic environment, and the conflicts and contradictions generated therein for particular groups. (See Cornforth 1971; Guillian 1983; Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Spring 1972; Swanson 1967; Thompson 1966; Van Binsbergen 1977, among others.)

What sets aside the sacred from the profane may define the domains upon which man may act - that is, those base-line social conditions of existence which he may transform. It may also help explain why missionaries often see their most difficult opponents in the traditional religious figures or sources of truth who propound alternate conceptions regarding the classification of the world (Duviols 1977; Huertas 1981; Marzal 1969; Muratorio 1982; Shapiro 1972). Underlying myths and traditions, critical relations between men and nature, hence claims among men, lie at issue (e. g., Horton 1967; Szeminski and Ansión 1982). Traditional religious figures guard the understandings essential for the reproduction of a given group,

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that is, the symbolic and practical relationships that must be maintained in confrontation with economic and social conditions of existence.

The effect that the stance towards the sacred and profane may have upon the 'cultural memory' or historical trajectory of a given group can help redefine its social processes of internal reproduction, thereby affecting its overall identity. This process has been explained by Muratorio through a singular analysis of the social meaning of the 'plague of insomnia' in García Márquez' novel One Hundred Years of Solitude:

> The insomnia plague, and the resulting loss of memory are, in turn, metaphors which suggest the process of socioeconomic coercion that expelled Indians from their lands, ... and, furthermore, symbolize the ideological modes of colonization that have over the past 450 years strived to strip differing indigenous groups of South America from their cultural memory and collective identity.
>
> Melquíades is able to free people in Maconda from the plague of insomnia through his capacity to understand and bridge the distance between the precapitalist and capitalist worlds, and find a relationship between community and nation that combines magical thought with the social and economic realities of quotidian life ... Melquíades symbolizes the process whereby numerous Indians groups in South America currently struggle to recuperate their cultural memory and own identity even where immersed, voluntarily or not, in the complex reality of modern society. As all of us, the Indians in the highlands, in the tropical forests, or in marginal urban areas, find themselves immersed in the hegemonic world of industrial capitalism and, as a result, the new visions of 'the vanquished' emerge from the social relationships generated in this particular historical context along with its contradictions. These new visions of the 'vanquished' thus express the level of consciousness and corresponding ideological practices of the contradictions that originate in the articulation of the differing modes of production that characterize the social formations of South America in the present. The corresponding ideological conflicts take place in the context of the legal, political, economic, and religious institutions where indigenous peoples encounter these contradictions. This is a process entailing ideological adjustment as much as conflict in which the social groups implicated transform, if in varying measures, their traditions and definitions of themselves and others. When these redefinitions take place in societies also divided ethnically, the problem of what constitutes 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic tradition' become decisive analytical variables (1982: 19-20; original in Spanish).

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Where the conditions of social existence are changing, knowledge about how to handle these changes becomes a source of power. As previously mentioned, there are many persons approaching missionaries in order to gain access to such knowledge (see, for example, Beidelman 1981, 1974; Salamone 1980; Stoll 1982). In these circumstances the need to acquire new knowledge may be compounded by the related failure of traditional sources of power and knowledge (see, in addition, Hvalkof and Aaby 1981 and Miller 1971). Thus, the inability to cure diseases becomes an expression of such an obstacle, when not only symbolic power but the very notion of health itself is involved in the correct manipulation of supernatural forces that derive from the proper combination of ecologic and societal structural relations. The introduction of medicine by the missionary may thus lead people to ascribe control of presumed sources of power to the missionary, and call forth efforts to manage that power. This reinforces the interrelationship of the social and supernatural domains.

Not all missionaries, however, introduce social projects of the same nature or are able to carry through their particular projects to the same extents (Forman 1978; J. Gonzales 1982; Gutiérrez 1974; Hughes 1978; Marzal 1984, 1983; Neely 1978; Ross 1978; Suess 1983). The mission proposes the establishment of a new 'civilizational' scheme. More important, however, is the way in which the implantation of this scheme positions people in the network of production and reproduction relations (see Poulantzas 1973). The problem to be analyzed poses issues akin to those entailed in the process termed by Williams as 'selective tradition:'

> ... that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as 'the tradition,' '<u>the</u> significant past.' But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and

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practices are reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture. The processes of education; the processes of a much wider social training within institutions like the family; the practical definitions and organisation of work; the selective tradition at an intellectual and theoretical level: all these forces are involved in a continual making and remaking of an effective dominant culture, and on them, as experienced, as built into our living its reality depends (1973: 9).

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CHAPTER 10

THE DOMINICAN MISSION COMPLEX

The work of the Dominicans in the Madre de Dios region began in the early part of the century. Yet it proceeded rather unsmoothly, and only reached the core of the Harakmbut peoples many decades later, in the fifties. This chapter will analyze: (1) the general means of proselytizing employed by the Dominicans; (2) their diffusion among the Harakmbut; and (3) the 'mission complex' to which these were subsequently introduced.

The Diffusion of the Dominicans

Although the Dominicans did not assign themselves to Madre de Dios as an area of work, their conduct once in the region was largely a product of their own initiative. It is consequently important to first analyze how they went about introducing their work.

The Dominicans initially followed the major economic and population movements that took place in the area (see, e.g., Anonymous 1921b: 285; W. Fernández 1952). Thus, the rise and fall of their missions in both the Manu and Tahuamanu river areas can be neatly correlated with the development of the rubber boom. Their focus in the Tambopata area through mission sites in both Puerto Maldonado and Lago Valencia can be traced to the economic activities which concentrated the persons who withdrew from the rivers once the prices of rubber fall. The final establishment of their work with the core of the Harakmbut themselves is connected with the rise in the price of gold, the onslaught of people this brought about, and the subsequent building of roads in the surrounding areas

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(see, e.g., Alvarez 1952: 64; Aza 1935, 1919: 44; Ballón 1917; Elorrieta 1943; Ferrero 1968; García 1958; Osambela 1896; Rueda 1980; Sarasola 1929). Amidst these developments, the Dominicans tried to reach those areas where large numbers of people were at the time concentrated, and the economic and political activities in the regions 'called' for the development of 'Christian' behavior (see, e.g., Portillo 1914). In the process they often responded to suggestions about specific places that might prove best in this double sense (see, for example, Alvarez 1920: 155).

Some of their major support came from the principal actors in the region (see, e.g., Alvarez 1958: 28, 1927: 5, 1924a: 70; Aza 1919: 45; Cenitagoya 1921: 261; Ferrero 1958a: 34; García 1949b: 212; Ipinza 1926: 664). Thus Bernardino Perdiz and Máximo Rodríguez, perhaps the two most important figures during the rubber boom in the Manu and Tahuamanu areas (and who had not remained on the edge of the violence exercised in the area), not only welcomed the Dominicans, but lent them crucial backing in the area (Alvarez 1984; Ballón 1917; Flores Marín 1977a; Heredia 1941; La Combe 1904; Soria 1964: 11; Stiglich, et al. 1915; Zubieta 1921: 386). By comparison, the material aid obtained in the area from the institutions which formally accounted for their presence - whether the state or Spain and Rome - proved of secondary importance. Housing, river transport, foodstuffs, and credit were mostly acquired from local power figures and complemented by the assistance received from throughout the nation (and particularly from its most 'civilized' - i.e., non-indigenous - sectors) through charitable women's organizations, school activities, and Church assistants.

However, one may consider the very state of turmoil in which the

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Dominicans developed their business at hand as significant as the direct support that was gathered. This both underlay local interest in the development of a religious mission and provided the context which led native peoples to seek refuge in the missionary enterprise (see, e.g., Guell 1961; Toor 1949). The missionary's first problem was that of convincing native peoples that his own set of activities in the area was distinct from that of the other economic actors around.

While missionaries derived their support from some of the principal figures of the major economic processes locally underway, they had to find a way to convince the native peoples negatively affected by the economic activities engendered by these figures of their own independent religious and altruistic concerns. This often became difficult because both missionaries and rubber gatherers, for example, could use the same means of recruitment: namely, gift-giving, the use of indigenous mediators, and the removal of children from their parents to raise them as each best saw fit (see, e.g., Alvarez 1954: 146-7; Arnaldo 1937: 223-4; Comercio de Lima 1901; García 1949a: 390).

The first problem for missionaries, however, was the development of a state of <u>pax</u>, even if this had different social siginification for all involved (see, e.g., Sarasola 1943: 8). This was at the crux of the missionary endeavor. In the development of this task, where missionaries always tried to present themselves as unlike other surrounding 'Westerners,' various means were employed but, principally, those centered about the efforts made by the missionary to present himself as a kindly, giving person who bore a faith and a civilizational scheme capable of offering salvation amidst turmoil (see, e.g., Toor 1949). His white cloth-

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ing, beard, and cross around his neck were continually used as distinctive symbols in this regard.

The initial appearance as a giving person meant, in literal terms, showing up with gifts to be freely distributed (see, e.g., Alvarez 1949). These could include clothing, machetes, knives, cooking utensils, and various other gadgets, including those of perhaps a more superfluous nature such as mirrors, beads, or useless coins. Such objects were themselves obtained by the missionaries through their local, regional, and national level supporters.

The distribution of these goods, however, did not always take place through personal contact. They could be left on a beach, in the forest, or even dropped from planes (see W. Fernández 1952). Yet this, in itself, did not necessarily guarantee contact. Even slave raiders and gold prospectors hid their underlying intent and used similar means of recruitment at times (see, e.g., Cornejo 1943; Pesce 1904; Stiglich 1902). The Harakmbut are thus remembered as having once returned such gifts with arrows to the notorious rubber gatherer, Fitzcarrald (see, e.g., La Combe 1904).

How direct contact with native peoples was established determined the initial structure of interaction with the group to be evangelized. Through the use of mediators and gifts particular relationships and expectations were nurtured among those to be evangelized.

Learning the language beforehand, at least in part, was important and often involved finding a contact who might be capable later of introducing them to the group among whom work was to be carried out. The idiom was learned when marginal members of the particular language group were encountered.

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This meant working either with children who had been stolen or abandoned or with adults who, whether a part of the specific group to be contacted or not, might help develop a means of interaction with them (e.g., Cenitagoya 1933). If the Dominicans were to turn such contacts into mediators in the relationships established with those they wanted to evangelize, they had to convince native peoples that their intentions were altruistic (e.g., Alvarez 1957: 335). This effort might take several years to develop. Learning the language was difficult - in fact, only few Dominicans ever undertook this task seriously. Convincing future contacts, or turning them into allies and mediators, could take a long time (e.g., Alvarez 1920: 165). Yet later, such converts could become the cornerstones of the missions founded.

Although not much information is available regarding the several individuals who became contact persons, what is known suggests that such people were already, if not severed from their group of origin, affected by the changes stemming from the broader political economy. Thus, the Mission of San Luis del Manu was founded on the basis of two Machiguenga who had already spent time with the Dominicans in Puerto Maldonado, where they were converted (Sarasola 1927). The first Pantiacolla mission was founded on the basis of runaways from the former Manu mission. Similar cases may also be observed in the creation of the other missions (see, e.g., Alvarez 1924a: 66; Anonymous 1921a: 346). At times, nonetheless, such persons were also those who came to pose the greater threats (see, e.g., Fernández 1933).

Although the above mentioned relationships could take a long time to consolidate, they were still not nearly as difficult to establish as the

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subsequent steps that had to be taken to convince 'converts' of the need to work for the goods that had previously been given to them. That is, attracting people who had been suffering from slave raids, epidemics, or land invasions, among other difficulties, by giving them gifts and in every sense presenting a diachronically opposed image to what had been a source of harm, was not nearly as difficult as the subsequent development of more realistically sustainable daily terms of interaction. The process of changing the nearly millenarian expectations generated in the previous steps - where the order of the 'civilized' has been reversed and suddenly turned into all-giving and forgiving - into an image that offered a working relationship with 'civilization' rather than the threat of destruction, was particularly difficult to achieve in the context of the Dominican missions, where the transformation of gifts into commodities was to take place through political means above all. The Dominicans thus had to struggle to demonstrate not only that desired commodities must now be 'purchased' through the money obtained in the labor process, but that this moreover, implied coming to terms with an alien social 'pecking order.' This seemingly arbitrary hierarchical order contradicted the Dominicans' own initial stance in the process of diffusion.

The state of turmoil created by the terms of incorporation into the broader political economy offered a number of reinforcements as well as clues about what kinds of issues could be addressed by the missionaries. In the case of slave raids or land invasions, resettlement could be proposed as a viable alternative. This was a recurrent option not only because the search for native lands or labor was ever present, but because the Dominican missionaries considered the development of concentrated settlements a prerequisite of 'civilized' patterns

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of living. The distribution of effective medical care was another powerful ally, given not only the existence of epidemics but also the significance assigned to curing power by the native population.

However, these initial propositions by the missionary were difficult to manage concretely. Nuclear housing; agricultural surpluses capable of feeding not only large numbers of people (including non-producers such as the missionary personnel and the children and sick people the mission sought to maintain), but also providing a source of income for the mission and its constituents; changes in kinship rules or religious beliefs and practices considered antithetical to Christian morality; and the problems brought about by the imposed coexistence of enemy groups, were some of the problems created by the Dominican 'conversion' process (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963c: 16).

Thus, the missionaries offered an initial sense of security. But this moment of respite was illusory, since the missionaries were also agents of major changes in the distribution of time and energy and the social means of cooperation employed to accomplish these. Confronted with these problems, the Dominicans both proposed solutions and defined the means to bring about such changes (e.g., Sarasola 1937b: 85). It is the second aspect which was perhaps of greater importance. To the extent that the 'civilizational' model proposed by the Dominicans was derived from a context quite alien to the indigenous peoples, it constituted as imposition in the end, whatever its particulars. How this alien model was introduced could thus define both the achievements and limitations of the Dominicans. While many changes proved *a priori* meaningless, their success depended at times, nearly entirely on the means used to introduce them.

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At stake and in a double sense, lay a shift in interaction which imparted singular power to the missionary regarding both 'what' was to be introduced and 'how.' Although the 'what' might refer to more technical changes and the 'how' to those social relationships through which the technical changes might take, both came together in the particular locus of power which defined the changed patterns in social production _and_ distribution. The specific changes introduced could thus define simultaneously '_who_' they responded to (e.g., Sarasola 1931: 5). To the extent that this could take place, the missionary endeavor could be considered successful, at least in its social impact. That is, in so far as the modifications could become working propositions, the mission's impact might successfully become a working part of the larger order and no longer require special reinforcements to convince people that particular behaviors ought to take place.

This entailed, fundamentally, the successful introduction of that process whereby desired goods could cease to be gifts and become commodities (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963a: 11). Such goods should now include in the missionary's ideology, not just those which he helped introduce, but the entire repertoire of native resources, to the extent that indigenous peoples were conceived as simply living off nature.

Yet subsistence goods were not God-given or simply taken from nature in indigenous terms. They also could not be controlled or withheld at will by missionaries. They were a _product_ of given forms of social cooperation and distribution which had to first be reshaped (in so far as land was still controlled). As already mentioned, the general state of turmoil and the offer of salvation in midst of which natives were gathered initially,

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contributed to no more than a first step in this direction. Once the option for change was introduced, the more specific and difficult alternative had to be put in place (see, e.g., Almaraz 1963c: Anonymous 1923: 664; Martín 1963: 24). A basic change in the terms of interaction would have to pervade the entire fabric of social existence. This, in the context of native peoples' lives, entailed finding a means of reproducing the initial structure of inequality - i.e., the 'damned' status of would-be converts vs. the 'sacred' nature of God's representatives on earth, and their relationship through the promise of external salvation in the world beyond. Implied in this effort was the withholding of the means of salvation in the here and now.

The social message setting apart what may be considered as 'complete' individuals as opposed to 'incomplete' individuals was reproduced <u>ad infinitum</u> in school, mass, at the moment of the distribution of work and its fruits and, in general, throughout the most significant areas of social existence in the mission (see, also, Lelong 1974). Thus the political nature of the religious endeavor underlay its social fruits. The concealment of the ultimate source of religious power, deemed to lie beyond the everyday man's grasp, had a counterpart in the concealment of the concrete sources of the historical and political economic conditions of existence undergone by those being evangelized (see, e.g., Cenitagoya 1939: 225; García 1947). The ultimate sources of social power thus were obscured, despite any rhetoric concerning social liberation such as was in use, for example, in the '70s, when a relatively progressive military regime ruled Peru and some questions were raised regarding the social meaning of religious missions.

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San Miguel de los Mashcos

An assessment of the means by which the social message of the Dominicans was introduced among the Harakmbut in the San Miguel de los Mashcos mission under determinate historical circumstances will highlight what has been discussed so far.

The core of the Harakmbut region - the tropical area bounded by the Alto Madre de Dios, Madre de Dios, and Inambari rivers - basically stayed off limits to outsiders until 1940, when Father José Alvarez accompanied the Wenner Gren expedition headed by Paul Fejos to the Karene (or Colorado) river (Alvarez 1940a, b). Before that time, contact had taken place with the Wachipaeri and Arasaeri in the Q'osñipata and Marcapata valleys, respectively. In both cases, however, the Dominicans had enjoyed little success. Efforts among the Wachipaeri were abandoned shortly after they began, about 1908, when it was pointed out that the missionary endeavor was more urgently needed in the Manu area (a more important place at the height of the rubber boom). Efforts among the Arasaeri were similarly meagre. The Arasaeri had been contacted, particularly through slave raids by Bolivian chinchona and rubber gatherers, since the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Aza 1935, 1927; Ontaneda 1907; Stiglich 1908a). This left only about a half dozen families in place when the Dominicans entered the Marcapata area in the 1930s, at a time of rising gold prices (see Aza 1935). Nonetheless, some Arasaeri individuals were incorporated into the Lago Valencia and San Jacinto missions both during and after the rubber boom. This helped Father José Alvarez learn the Harakmbut language to some extent by the time he joined the Fejos expedition (Ariz 1956).

This exploratory expedition, the precise results of which remain un-

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recorded in Peru, took place at a time when great interest existed both in the area specifically occupied by the Harakmbut and in the Amazon region in general (because of its gold and the need of the United States to find new sources of rubber during World War II) (see, e.g., Sarasola 1940b: 221-2). The area occupied by the Harakmbut, which constituted 40,000 km^2 approximately, had become an increasing source of mystery, wonder, and fear over the years, especially since it had not ever been effectively economically penetrated (see, e.g., Rueda 1980). By the time the Wenner Gren expedition took place it had become of enormous interest to both gold prospectors and colonists. Thus, when a mission was founded in the region, its specific location had already been carefully worked out in relationship to both the existing distribution of gold workers and colonization or road building plans (see, e.g., Alvarez 1952: 66).

The mood which surrounded these concerns is best expressed in the efforts made in that regard by the Swede, Sven Ericsson (see, also, Anonymous 1935). As a man who had failed during the rubber boom, partly due to the poverty of communication routes along the Alto Madre de Dios valley, he had become determined in the decade of the '20s (when Leguía was in power), to work toward the development of roads into the valley which might aid its subsequent colonization (Anonymous 1936). Such endeavors were not only greatly favored both by Leguía and regional figures, but when Leguía's government fell and the great economic depression of the 1930s took place along with the related rise in the price of gold, Ericsson's concerns received grounded support.

Still to this day considered a pioneer in the Paucartambo valley, his plans were not only grandiose, but greatly applauded throughout, including

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by the Dominicans. The following excerpt of an interview with Ericsson published by the Dominicans expresses not only his thinking but the prevailing attitude concerning the area occupied the Harakmbut at the time:

> The Supreme Government has already granted a large concession of land for gold extraction to Mr. Karel, Consul General of Sweden in Peru. He is currently in Stockholm, formalizing the existence of a powerful company in two aspects, the financial and the technical. Once this company is organized, he plans to return to Peru at the end of the year and begin the preparation for work immediately. ...
>
> The first task will be to organize an expedition, duly equipped, with the purpose of taking possession of the concession granted, study in the terrain the best location for centers of activity, and take the first steps towards the development of our plan. This expedition will enter via Paucartambo on horseback and from Iberia by canoe, to the mouth of the Colorado river on the Madre de Dios. ...
>
> Once the central camp has been established at the mouth of the Colorado, with its landing strip, radio station and other instruments of colonization, we shall employ modern elements to produce in the unsubdued tribes an impression of disarray and terror, which will contain their criminal impulses. We will carry out an air raid, carrying tear gas bombs, which when they extend themselves through the jungle and provoke the Mashcos to copious tears, will make them think that they are being invaded as a punishment for their horrifying crimes. In case of attack on the camp, we will defend ourselves with the militarized guard, which will accompany us, and which will of course be provided by the government, since we are dealing with a company of such considerable national promise. ...
>
> Once the tribes surrender or are terrorized by these procedures, we have the highly civilizing work of the missionaries. These, with the knowledge of the language which they already possess, and with their persuasive methods of attraction, are those called upon to transform their primitive and reactionary mentality by the action of School and Church, making them useful to the colonization itself and to the country. ...
>
> We have sufficient capital, both for the initial expeditions to take possession, and for the exploitation of the gold resources. The concession is large enough to give remunerative work to all the population of Madre de Dios, and for many others who will wish to enroll themselves in the enterprise, especially from the Southern Departments of the Republic. It should be noted that this initiative has been warmly welcomed in the regions concerned (Anonymous 1936: 16-9;.original in Spanish).

When the Dominicans contacted the Harakmbut, several other efforts

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had already taken place in the areas in order to free it from the 'savages' so the search for gold might take place undisturbedly.

The Fejos expedition was not entirely successful not only in terms of its initial plan to cover the entire Karene, but because - unconscious of the Harakmbut's own internal social cleavages - they 'offended' a sub-group, and, in fright, opened fire and killed an Amarakaeri (see, e.g., Alvarez 1952: 64, 1942: 42-6; Hölzman 1951: 54). This limited the contact that could be established with the people in the area. Nonetheless, Father José Alvarez managed to use the peaceful meeting that took place with a Sapiteri group to establish a good relationship with one of its leading figures, Paijaja. Yet, even prior to the expedition overland itself, the area had been flown over several times and, each time, gifts had been liberally distributed. Father José Alvarez left Paijaja during the Wenner Gren expedition with the promise of again returning with more gifts the following year.

And in fact, in the following years several more trips into the area took place whereby additional groups were contacted, often by means of Paijaja, and an always generous distribution of goods took place (see, e.g., Alvarez 1952: 66; Sarasola 1943: 6-8). Among the groups contacted were people who had long considered each other enemies. Nonetheless, Father José Alavarez himself, as a person, played a role by communicating in Harakmbut and appearing to understand the historical basis of the 'fierceness' which had characterized the group as a whole.

The Mission of San Miguel de los Mashcos was thus founded in Kaichiwe, in the mouth of the Pukiri river. It brought together several groups on both a permanent and itinerant basis. That is, a number of groups only

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came to visit the mission occasionally (see Alvarez 1952: 64; Martín 1946: 56). Not just the rubber boom but the development of some haciendas in the Q'osñipata valley and the incursion of gold workers in the Marcapata area, including the Inambari river, had by then seriously altered relationships among the various Harakmbut subgroups, making their peaceful coexistence nearly impossible (see, e.g., Alvarez 1944; Rueda 1980).

The rubber boom had reduced the area occupied by the Harakmbut, drawing some of them entirely or partly away from the Alto Madre de Dios, Manu, Madre de Dios, and Inambari rivers, where rubber was tapped. We have little precise information about how this affected internal relations. What is known is that the Harakmbut withdrew from any contact with outsiders, except when outsiders travelled either through or near their area, at which time they often shot arrows at them, especially when it appeared that an economic interest was involved. The Madre de Dios river has a number of areas ideally suited for ambushes. Travellers came to especially fear such blind spots from which the Harakmbut had effectively shot arrows many times in the past, either wounding or killing passersby. Some report that at the beginning of the rubber boom, when Fitzcarrald travelled from the Ucayali to the Madre de Dios river through the isthmus (of his name) in the Manu, peaceful interaction with the Harakmbut had been possible. But when Fitzcarrald tried to extend his activities and people in the area, opposition - first peaceful and then rather violent - was mounted by the Harakmbut (see, e.g., Alvarez 1940b: 178-9). It is likely that he may have tried to carry out slave raids among them as he had with other groups, particularly the Ashaninka. Regardless of the precise origin of this opposition, however, the point is that some rather fierce

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Chart 22

ETHNIC GROUP DISLOCATION HISTORY

Ethnic Group	Locations in the Region Prior to 1890
Amahuaca	Inuya, Sepahua, Piedras and Purús headwaters, and north
Amarakaeri	Unknown
Arasaeri	Arasa and Inambari, from Marcapata to mouth of Inambari
Campa	Apurímac, Ene, Tambo, Perené, left-hand tributaries of Ucayali, north to Pachitea, Gran Pajonal
Ese'exa	Tambopata, lower Madre de Dios, especially into Bolivia (Madre de Dios, Beni, Madidi)
Inapari	Amigos, Piedras, Tahuamanu, Acre, especially into Brazil
Kisambaeri	Unknown
Machiguenga	Urubamba (Santa Ana to Camisea), especially towards Alto Madre de Dios
Piro	Lower Urubamba (Camisea to Atalaya), especially toward Isthmus of Fitzcarrald
Pukirieri	Pukiri river
Sapiteri (Sirineri)	Uplands from Alto Madre de Dios to Karene (Colorado)
Toyoeri	Main bodies of Manu and Madre de Dios, from Isthmus of Fitzcarrald to mouth of Inambari
Wachipaeri	Q'osñipata valley to Pongo of Q'oñec
Yaminahua	Acre, Yacu, Chandless, Purús

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(Cont'd)

Ethnic Group	Introduced by Rubber Tappers (1890-1912)
Amahuaca	To lower Piedras and Acre (Inapari) areas, from lower Urubamba
Campa	Throughout the region, especially along the Manu and Madre de Dios, from Ucayali
Piro	Length of the Manu and Acre, from lower Urubamba
Santarrosino	Muymanu and Manuripe, from Napo (Ecuador)
Shipibo-Conibo	Length of Madre de Dios to Puerto Maldonado, Acre, and Tahuamanu, from Ucayali
Witoto	Madre de Dios, especially toward Puerto Maldonado, Acre, and Tahuamanu, from Putumayo (Peru-Colombia)

Ethnic Group	Post-Rubber Boom Migrants from Brazil
Cashinahua	Curanjá
Culina	Purús
Chandinahua	Purús
Manchineri	Yacu
Marinahua	Purús
Sharanahua	Purús
Yaminahua	Additional groups toward upper Purús and Piedras, Mapuya, and upper Manu

Source: Moore n.d. [1979]

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battles indeed took place and left an imprint on all of the relationships which the Harakmbut established with outsiders until the 1940s, when the Dominicans went in.

It is more likely that events in the Q'osnipata and Marcapata valleys provided a more direct context for the internal relations among the Harakmbut which allowed Father Jose Alvarez to evangelize to the extent that he did. These developments at times led outsiders to distribute goods among the Harakmbut in the periphery in exchange for labor and/or peaceful coexistence. At other times, labor was sought simply through slave raids. Along with the diseases that began to spread simultaneously, these factors severely affected both trade relations and the demographic distribution of the various subgroups (see, e.g., Martín 1964: 29, 1948: 440).

By the 1940s the Sapiteri were at war with the Wachipaeri. Paijaja was Sapiteri and had changed location with his subgroup from near the Wachipaeri to where he was found by Father José Alvarez. In the field, Wachipaeri reported to me that they could still recall a time before this when peaceful exchanges had been possible with the Sapiteri. These were altered when the Wachipaeri began to acquire goods from the Q'osñipata haciendas - whether by stealing or working for them - and the Sapiteri and 'Toyoeri' (in quote since groups further down - toyod^{n} - were generally referred to as Toyeri by the Harakmbut) desired these same goods. The Wachipaeri went through a lot to obtain these goods to want to exchange them subsequently for products of the forest with the Sapiteri.

The Wachipaeri recall an oracle, a stone called Amana, which the Sapiteri also visited. Songs were sung before Amana, an object highly respected. The Wachipaeri tell that one day the Sapiteri (and 'Toyeri?')

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came and poked fun at the Amana, after which it became silent and never again answered the songs of the Wachipaeri. This marked the final break in their relationship with the Sapiteri.

Trade also played a part in the area where Father José Alvarez worked. People in the region had already been aware of the goods that gold workers had. Father José Alvarez distributed similar goods to certain groups but not others, who kept away from the rest because of their prior animosities. In the process he fueled the existing discord among various Harakmbut groups. This helps explain the extent to which some groups approached the Father in the mission while others continued to stay away (whether altogether or except rare occasions) and the impact grouping such people would subsequently have.

Nonetheless, Father José Alvarez wanted to bring together all of the Harakmbut groups and thus got Paijaja to accompany him on an expedition to the area he had inhabited before. The Amarakaeri, who now lived in the center of the Harakmbut area would thereby find themselves pressured from all sides to develop a relationship with the missionary. Paijaja went with Father José Alvarez reluctantly.

The roundabout route, proposed by Paijaja himself, was at any rate safer than the head-on collision the Father had planned by simply going up the Karene river. Mario Calefano, an anthropologist who has been working among the Harakmbut for many years, explains:

> The Zapiteri have engaged battle with all the Mashco sections which surround them; that is to say, with the Arasaeri in the east, with the Toyeri to the north, with the Amaracaeri to the east and on the slopes of the Zapite, and with the Huachipaire to the southeast.
>
> In the internal mobilization of this section it is possible to distinguish two moments: the first, before they had suffered

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> the crushing defeat inflicted upon them by the Huachipaire and other groups who continually harassed them. Then follows the second period, that of contact with Father Alvarez, who entered via Puerto Maldonado working his way up to the Madre de Dios and the River Colorado in 1940. At that time they were divided into two groups, with a wedge between them formed by the Amarakaeri of the Kipudnweri group. For this reason, when Father José tried to make contact with the inhabitants of the Nawene and Shirene who lived further upstream, Paijaja proposed to him that he should follow the old route of Carbon and Istare (1982: 75; original in Spanish).

Father Jose Alvarez finally reached the Amarakaeri in 1950. He had worked toward this end, along with other Dominicans, for at least ten years. The fruits of his efforts, however, were at the same time a product of the internal and external relations undergone by the Harakmbut themselves. Not only did surrounding political economic processes push in this direction, but their own response to this pressure provided the set of internal relationships that the Dominicans utilized to their own ends.

Economic interests and government had long been at the Harakmbut's doorsteps in an effort to build roads, colonize and, especially, work gold in the area. The Harakmbut fought each other over Western trade goods. But their own demographic displacements and decline were more than just a product of their own internal divisions. The latter simply exacerbated the effects of the unequal distribution of trade goods and the renewed appearance of diseases, which continually modified the terms under which goods, women, alliances and, in general, exchange could take place.

In many important ways, the Harakmbut continued to exercise control over their subsistence requirements. The domestic group was still a viable unit of production. It was, however, by way of its impact on the processes regarding social reproduction that the larger economy began to sift through the near totality of Harakmbut existence.

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From the periphery came not only greatly desired Western goods, but raids by Harakmbut subgroups in search of women, particularly given women's demographic decline as a result of slave raids and epidemics. Access to Western goods and the loss of women now took place for the 'interior' Harakmbut under increasingly negative terms of exchange. These social cleavages were ably used by the Dominicans. However, the missionaries apparently did this, more than through conscious knowledge of what was required, as a result of the guidance received in the establishment of contact persons and routes from Harakmbut mediators. The patient and progressive building of contacts through able and knowledgeable political leaders who, like Paijaja, knew how to speak and convince other Harakmbut, allowed the Dominicans to eventually cover the entirety of their territory.

The success of this strategy was a result of broader political economic developments that affected how the Harakmbut structured their social existence. The Amarakaeri in Shintuya tell of times when goods were dropped over them and direct contact had not yet taken place. Among the goods received were machetes, knives, cooking pots, clothing, and canned food. They say that during this same period great numbers of people began to die, thus condluding, whether rightly or not, that the clothing and food cans were the source of these deaths. They thus buried these goods and carefully washed all steel goods before using them (see, also, Alvarez 1959: 69; Fernández 1952: 7).

By the time direct contact took place, so many people had died, that many maloca had disappeared altogether and their survivors reconcentrated in new ones. Since malocas were traditionally abandoned and burned down when one of its members died, their disappearance thus does not neces-

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sarily imply a great demographic downfall. Yet, all informants agreed in that numerous people had died before direct contact was established with the Dominicans. This may be indirectly corroborated by the observation made in one of the overflights of the area between the Chilive and Blanco rivers that about 100 houses and 150 chacras (cultivated plots) could be counted (Alvarez 1940a: 131).

In midst of chaos and violence, Father José Alvarez alternately appeared as savior and dispenser of long dreamed goods. Yet the incorporation of the Harakmbut into the broader political economy was by and large a 'political' affair which itself recreated the internal and external conditions required for Father Alvarez to develop his task.

The 'Mission Complex'

The relationships toward fellow men and nature fostered in the mission were designed not only to civilize but, most importantly perhaps, to Christianize. By the time the last Harakmbut were contacted, the mission at Kaichiwe had been moved to the mouth of the Palotoa river. Yet its name, San Miguel de los Mashcos, not only remained the same but continued to express the Dominicans' perception of the Harakmbut's incorporation into both the Christian faith and Peruvian nation-state (e.g., Arana 1943a).

One of the many descriptions of the meaning the symbol of San Miguel had for the Dominicans is the following:

> ... we were moved to great joy by the knowledge that San Miguel had been proclaimed Defender and Liberator of the rebellious and criminal Mashcos. For he is the powerful Archangel, the Prince of the angelic militia, the vanquisher of internal rebellions, the one who with his omnipotent force breaks the chains of all the captives of the great dragon who pursues all men.

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> ... he is the Archangel missionary, the banner waver of the Celestial King, who guides his heralds to the conquest of the world of unbelief, which is the world of those chained by the dragon.
>
> The Holy Scripture describes San Miguel ever full of zeal for the city of God. And when his enemies have satiated the fury of their vengeance and it seems that ruin is inevitable, then the Archangel appears, arm of God, great prince who defends and saves the predestined, who prays for them and presents their prayers to the Lord, and goes into combat for them and fights tremendous battles for their cause. Like that which Saint John says in the Apocalypse: A terrible battle was joined in the sky and San Miguel and his angels fought against the dragon and his hosts. And the dragon was hurled into the abyss. Then the prophet heard a sounding voice which said: now has been brought about salvation and virtue and the kingdom of God ... because he who accused your brothers has been thrown down, he who accused them before the presence of God, day and night.
>
> Yes, we wait for it with certainty: San Miguel will employ all his power to throw down the innumerable legions of evil spirits which populate the region of the Mashcos and enslave their souls.
>
> And we imagine him already prepared for his work of redemption: beautiful and great, clad in invulnerable armor, high up, with at his feet the terrible dragon of the savage superstition of the untamed Mashcos; and all of him wrapped in the powerful echo of that prophetic voice: Now has been brought about here salvation and the kingdom of God (Arana 1940: 115-6; original in Spanish).

The sword symbolizes both the violence surrounding the Harakmbut's incorporation into the mission complex, and the day-to-day reproduction of the destruction of Harakmbut culture once in the mission. Not only were production and exchange relations the focus of changes imposed by the Dominicans, but also the very roots of these relationships in a corpus of material and conceptual resources.

Although new terms of interaction were indeed required, given the changes in the political and economic environment of the Harakmbut, the means introduced by the Dominicans were never geared toward turning the Harakmbut into agents of their own changed historical circumstances. They were geared, rather, to destroy them as 'Harakmbut' in order that they could become 'something' else. The Dominicans, a priori, fostered their own

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idealized version of Western culture and Christian behavior in their social work among the Harakmbut, thus undermining what they had to offer. This is seen to this day in the Shintuya mission.

The Shintuya river is where the Palotoa mission moved to when it was flooded in 1958. It constitutes, as such, the third site of the San Miguel de los Mashcos mission. Although it now has a population of approximately 160 people, it congregated about five hundred persons at one time. But the Harakmbut's practical ideologies were not geared to life in large settlements. Further, as the outflow of gifts was increasingly curtailed by the Dominicans and outbreaks of disease spread easily due to the proximity in which they all lived, a number of groups left the mission. Those who stayed soon learned that in order to acquire desired goods and favors from the Dominicans, it was essential that they comply with the type of behavior the Dominicans fostered.

This meant, above all, obedience and a corresponding acceptance of the worthlessness of their own 'native' ways - a pattern which impregnates to this day every facet of life in the mission. Thus, the children who obtained higher grades were primarily those who showed 'Christian' (i.e., subservient or fearful) patterns of behavior and no sense of initiative (e.g., Sarasola 1931: 11-2). Lelong equates this with the successful instillment of 'original sin' (1974). Even among adults, visits to the mission store were always accompanied by comments made in public by the missionary who attended the store concerning what was deemed as undesirable behavior among individuals in the mission, who were then pointed out before the rest. Assistance at the medical post also inevitably meant, at the time of my fieldwork, having to accept offensive comments regarding indigenous lifeways.

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This had practical implications. For example, a Yugoslavian doctor examined people at Shintuya at the time I was there and concluded that nearly 80% of the population had TBC (tuberculosis). The state offers the required medicine free of charge, but the health care worker either did not bother to distribute it or sold it, as she did with several other donated medications. She thought that the Harakmbut were to blame, considering the unhealthy conditions they chose to maintain. Breastfeeding was pointed out as particularly dangerous in this respect (!?). I ran across people who, although quite ill at times, preferred to stay away from the health post rather than be put to shame. Eventually, access to any good offered through the mission, even when earned through work, resulted in a moral admonition.

Yet, beyond the attitudes held by people in the mission concerning the inherent value of native ways vis-à-vis 'civilian' life, stood more concrete means of control over the changed conditions of existence. Not only did other members of the broader political economy have to approach natives through the missionary, but all contacts of the recent converts with the outside world ideally proceed within the limits posed by the missionary's sanctions.

The above exchanges could not be enforced, for example, through the use of violence. Yet the 'mission complex' continued to be reproduced for as long as the missionary withheld the means and instruments by which relationships with the outside world could be established favorably. The Dominicans appeared to insure the instillment of balanced, as opposed to negative, terms of exchange. Nonetheless, through the Dominicans Marines settled across the missionary's headquarters and caused several problems with Harakmbut women. The missionary also single-handedly defined the terms under which an oil company, Geophysical Services, would explore for a Japanese consortium, Cities Service, and settle <u>in</u> Shintuya between 1973 and 1975, causing a great deal of internal turmoil.

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During my fieldwork, the priest accepted from the government 10 million soles to have the airport in Shintuya weeded, yet he only gave one million to the Harakmbut who worked on this, without any further explanation. Finally, also at that time, he alone agreed to the settlement in Shintuya of a gold company, Ruby Trust Corporation. Fortunately, this particular venture failed before it ever got off the ground.

Yet people in Shintuya were constantly told of the extent to which they needed the mission to survive. Thus, all negative independent experiences with the outside world were subject to being ridiculed publicly by the missionary, who thus forewarned the others about what might happen if they did the same. Whenever people from Shintuya went to visit their family in the Colorado river - usually to earn a little additional cash by temporarily working gold - yet returned with no savings, malaria, and perhaps no more than just a radio, this was used as evidence of what happened when they thought they alone could know what was best.

The Piro from the downriver community of Diamante (across the mouth of the Manu river), was a place not only often visited by the Dominicans, but one they were trying to incorporate within their orbit of influence, if not control. People in Diamante collect the lumber which naturally falls and flows downriver from the Manu National Park (where lumber cannot be felled since it is a natural conservation unit), in addition to that which they fell elsewhere, and tie them up in <u>balsas</u> (rafts) which they float downriver to sell in a market wider than that along the Alto Madre de Dios.

Yet the Dominicans often knew up to the last detail concerning how much had been earned and lost in these transactions and recurrently offered to build them a lumber mill - to also attract and congregate the Machiguenga groups from

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within the Manu Park (where proselytizing is prohibited as well) and thus build about them a new mission post. However, the lumber mill the Dominicans themselves run in Shintuya never allowed the Harakmbut to earn enough money to survive on that basis.

Fuentes, who had access to the Shintuya lumber mill account books during his fieldwork, notes that:

> ... for the years 1977-1979 around 30% of the value of each unit of timber produced was appropiated by the intermediary under the rubric of 'freight.' Of the remaining 70% which was paid to the mission, this latter deducted 40% for operative costs of the sawmill and the towing truck, and the rest was paid to the native. Expressed in terms of the value of the timber produced this represents around 28% for operative costs and 42% which the natives received for their work. ...
>
> If the natives were to devote themselves to working timber under purely capitalist relations of production as wage laborers (which would imply their not hunting, not fishing, and not cultivating their gardens but acquiring in the market those products necessary for their subsistence and that of their families), they should receive in order to be able to survive a sum much higher than that which they actually receive at present. ... In the case of the natives of Shintuya ... we may see that what they receive as 'salary' for their work does not cover the costs of production and reproduction of the native work force, costs which are covered in large part by the traditional subsistence sphere. ... During fieldwork we were able to observe that after exhausting days of work cutting down the trees it was common to see men go out with a torch and sometimes a blanket to protect themselves from the cold of the night, to set out into the jungle or walk towards a stream in order to fish or track some game animal. ... With regard to the abandonment of traditional hunting and fishing activities ... there is evidently a lesser dedication to these ... This has had a negative effect on levels of nutrition (Fuentes n.d.: 104-7; original in Spanish).

The Piro of Diamante, in contrast, did not always do better monetarily than the Harakmbut in the mission, but they did decide where to sell and when to work, thus combining their own subsistence and commercial requirements. They showed, as a result, both a better health level in general and a greater capacity to conduct their own business affairs and make use of what opportunities existed to earn a little extra income.

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These Piro have, however, been handling their own interactions with the outside world for well over a century, from the time in which chinchona was extracted from the Urubamba river area. They have developed in the process a great skill to use what outsiders have to offer within the general bounds of what they consider important - a patterns they also practice with the Dominicans of Shintuya - much to the latter's chagrin. There are in all likelihood both historical and cultural reasons for why this has come to take place among the Piro as opposed to the Harakmbut. But as will be seen in the concluding section, there are also Harakmbut who are beginning to assume their own conditions of exchange with the outside world.

As Lelong points out, the immensely melancholic state of those in the mission of Shintuya stands in marked contrast to the savoir-vivre of those outside (1974). The issue is not only that of who sets the terms of external exchange, but of what allows dependency in this regard to reproduce itself. Who sets the terms of external exchange, then, has to do with how this 'outside world' is understood by the Dominicans. The very terms of incorporation to, and thus definition of, social and economic conditions of existence may contribute to the reproduction of the Dominicans' working assumptions. The social significance of the difference, for example, in how the Piro of Diamante and the Harakmbut of Shintuya work lumber stem from the fact that the first use this activity to complement their subsistence needs, whereas the second are made to rely on it for their subsistence. The Harakmbut - perhaps symptomatically of the Dominican mission complex - thereby not only waste their lives on something on the basis of which they cannot survive, but destroy in the process the natural resources which could insure their future survival.

The Dominicans considered native ways as worthless, although they

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were unable to offer any viable alternative. They supported persistently the development of means of communication and economic activites that fostered the colonization or permanent settlement of the area in an ill-(when at all) defined manner. Their biases, shared with the state consistently, remained above and beyond the opposition at times of the surrounding economic interests carried out by most other 'nationals' or 'civilians,' in addition - it nearly goes without saying - to natives.

Regarding the factors making for wider communication, the Dominicans actively occupied themselves with every possible meaning of the problem. In physical terms, regarding the building of roads, they were both explorers and proponents of new routes on their own account, in addition to having accompanied many expeditions conducted with this objective (see, for example, La Combe 1904). They correspondingly tried to locate the sites of their missions where roads were expected to pass (see, e.g., Málaga 1904). They published, publicized, and supported in every way possible existing efforts to build new means of communication, including telegraphs. Finally, they tried to control those means in existence within Madre de Dios, for example, a commercial radio-station, movie house, and amateur radio network existent in various outposts. In Shintuya, the last outpost linked to a road along the Alto Madre de Dios, even gasoline was controlled by them.

They thus not only actively informed people in the outside world about what happened in Madre de Dios, but controlled, as far as they could, the flow of information about the outside world into the Madre de Dios. While the entire educational system in Madre de Dios was for many years controlled by them, they are now mainly in charge only of primary schools among those native peoples among whom they carry out missionary work (Shintuya, Dia-

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mante, Tayakome, Palotoa, Puerto Luz, and San José). Consequently, although the Dominicans themselves are not numerous (usually no more than between 3 and 5 priests are around in the department at any one time), their view of Madre de Dios' place in the world is indeed carried far and wide.

Those activites which might stimulate the colonization and permanent settlement of Madre de Dios which they foster are, however, rather idealized (if not 'ethnocentric'). Thus, the type of economy the Dominicans introduced among native peoples in Madre de Dios never worked effectively. On the contrary, they severed natives from some of their own still assured subsistence activities. Their business endeavors did not produce the surpluses intended or required to allow native peoples to profit from them. Yet, rather than acknowledge this, they blamed the Harakmbut's own traditional economic activities, without ever understanding the extent to which these activities continued due to their own incapacity to produce a more viable alternative.

In their combined control of the means of ideological and material communication by which the changed conditions of existence could be handled, including their 'blind' faith concerning the definition and content of such conditions, the Dominicans attributed an intractable nature to both. To the extent that the 'who,' 'what,' and 'when' of such exchanges were not to be questioned by the Harakmbut, the Dominicans sought a change of heart above mind.

Those Harakmbut who adjusted best to the Dominicans' message have now access to means of interpreting and acting upon their current conditions of existence which inhibit their development of an alternate praxis. Thus,

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those far and wide instances of people who have completed not only their primary schooling in the mission, but been sent off to the Dominican secondary and technical school in Sepahua (Urubamba), have not yet exhibited the decision-making capacity to realize the potential of their knowledge. The pre-established order of not only the Dominican mission complex, but educational system in general, is instilled from an early age on and continually reproduced by its very failure to produce agents capable of acting upon their own social and economic conditions of existence. The Harakmbut are instead always taught and told in unending ways that they have yet to be further acted upon, or are 'nothing' in their own terms.

The Dominicans' prophecy all too frequently runs true, especially as the Harakmbut effectively remain alienated from the knowledge, means, and relationships required to act upon their present environment (Lelong 1974). Neither 'native' nor 'civilized,' the Harakmbut within the mission complex hide their 'native' identity and formally act 'civilized' before outsiders. They can neither alter their conditions of existence or God's will. Their salvation - liberation - thereby remains postponed until the next world.

The Harakmbut may 'own' their lumber mill and lands, but only outside 'experts' can operate or run the mill, ask for credits, bargain prices, keep accounts, administer medicines and, in general, 'execute' the critical functions of 'Western civilization.' In the process, both what is of practical value in the Harakmbut's cultural repertoire and irrelevant to the changes in their environment must be sacrificed, 'burned at the stakes,' as it were, without its social meaning ever having been taken into account, understood, or used to develop more accurate means of interaction.

The external and internal pacification of social relationships is all

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that is required for the 'mission complex' to stay alive. If in the process the Harakmbut's own social meaning is issued a death sentence is secondary to the point. When the Harakmbut's native status is recognized at all, it is not in its particulars but as part of a general state, in which all lowland indigenous groups are then put together, refering to their special condition of shared 'incapacity' - a frequently self-fulfilling prophecy in the Dominican mission complex.

The very physical layout of Shintuya expresses the 'unbridgeability' of this gap. Around a clean square, planted with grass and looked after by big and well fed dogs, are situated the cement structures of chapel, school, missionary quarters, store, radio station, and children's boarding rooms. The natives live apart, in nuclear houses made out of disparate combinations of traditional forest with often decaying modern purchased materials. Small children with inflated bellies and reddish hair, due to malnutrition, can be seen playing, as scroungy-looking dogs lie around. Bells ring throughout the day signalling the beginning and end of varying activities, while natives singly come in and out of the mission station, rendering account of their activities and seeking 'favors' privately (which even in Peru today constitute a right of anyone when available). About 6:30 every evening, the Harakmbut flow in groups to the mission station where the stores are opened, the priest talks on the radio and, on Sundays, mass is said.

Within this structure, the mission 'square' stands for all that is 'forward looking.' The humble native houses lying in the periphery, for all that which must be left behind. The sermons in mass, class, and throughout the day all stand for the same: social production and reproduction lie

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beyond the Harakmbut's grasp. The priest is the sole intermediary not just of God on earth, but of men of earth. Only he is entitled to mediate all transactions between natural, social, and supernatural sources of power.

The Dominicans, then, do not just attempt to progressively turn highly desired goods from gifts into commodities but, correspondingly, 'mystify' the social proceeses by which this is accomplished - posing these as a matter of 'correct' behavior above all. For as long as the Harakmbut remain unable to actively respond to their changed environment, the Dominicans thus prove effective in reproducing the 'mission complex,' inverting all social perception of the political and economic means by which the accumulation of power proceeds indeed.

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> ... The Amarakaeri see the power of resistance and the hopelessness of resignation as a perennial battle ... The Amarakaeri struggle is to insure that the will to resist is always there (Gray 1986: 118).

CHAPTER 11

THE 'MISSION COMPLEX' AMONG THE HARAKMBUT

The Dominican missionaries communicate a religious message related to the modes in which human exchanges are ordered, both abstractly, through their discourse, and concretely, in terms of how they position themselves and the Harakmbut in the larger social order. At the same time, evangelization among the Harakmbut remains predicated upon the Harakmbut's own relationship to their surrounding political economy. A Harakmbut family can produce its own means of subsistence, but it cannot socially reproduce itself. The Harakmbut's social reproduction is governed by a set of social and symbolic processes which were disrupted by the wider political economy and subsequently 'converted' by the missionaries. The processes that emerged in this wider field of forces hence generated the distribution of power at issue between the Dominicans and the Harakmbut. The social impact of the mission reflects the struggle that ensues between the liens upon men and nature furthered by the missionaries and the Harakmbut's own efforts to confront them and their social and economic conditions of existence, if in a by now somewhat transformed environment.

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The Social Impact of the Dominicans

The Dominicans produced a state of peace in the Madre de Dios region by wresting the Harakmbut from their most critical natural and social conditions of self-defence. While the Harakmbut's control over their remaining territory was then taken away, the processes of social differentiation instilled in the mission contributed to neutralize the strength of the Harakmbut's renowned resistance to outsiders.

The region of the greatly feared Harakmbut, where 'warring' tribes lived apart, although each fended off outsiders from their lands for centuries, was thus freed for transit and the carrying out of 'civilized' economic endeavors in a hitherto undreamed of way. Outsiders and 'nationals' alike praised the Dominicans' conquest. A flurry of newspaper articles along these lines, and the Dominicans' own writings and reprints of the accounts made by the press, appear in their journal frequently throughout these years. They all emphasize the prior fierceness of the Harakmbut, current accessibility of their lands, and great expectancy surrounding the benefits that would be obtained from them in the short future.

The Dominicans presented themselves as saviors in this context, emphasizing the advantageousness of the conquest to all involved (see, also, Alvarez 1984; Garcia 1942: 144). Yet Amarakaeri who had been present gave a different version concerning this. When the Dominicans made a direct appearance, after having dropped plane-loads of gifts for a long period, the Amarakaeri were told that if they did not come to the mission, others would come and harm them. In hindsight, many felt they were coerced, if not forced, into obeying the priest. With the added promise of receiving more gifts, they went to live next to some of their most hated and feared

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Harakmbut neighbors. As the priest in Shintuya explained during my fieldwork, this promise of gifts was a step necessary to cultivate people's 'attachment.'

Whether the issue for the Harakmbut had become one of 'our lives' vs. 'our lands' is somewhat of an academic question. The fear people had of the Harakmbut was so great, that even in the most scientific and professional incursion to their territory, members of the expedition opened fire when they heard the defiant Harakmbut. However, as the Harakmbut variously explained to Father José Alvarez and to a number of individuals who passed through their area long before they became a part of a mission complex, they had only responded to violence with violence. The Harakmbut mostly feared the violence exercised by outsiders rather than the loss of territory, which seemed inconceivable at that time. Violence to them meant both the threat of physical death -genocide - and the loss of control over their social, economic, and cultural practices - ethnocide. Many, especially those in the periphery of their territory, had already experienced various forms of commodity exchange. Whether genocide would have inevitably taken place, or cultural changes necessarily become ethnocidal without the Dominicans, could be disputed. The point is that the Harakmbut's fears were ably used by the Dominicans to group them into the mission and open up their lands to outsiders.

A state of 'warre,' if not war itself had indeed been dominant in the area at the time. The Dominicans' journal has numerous accounts protraying the constant state of fear of being assasinated, poisoned, robbed, or otherwise attacked in which everyone then lived (see, e.g., Ariz 1957: 131; Troncoso 1964: 43). Many Amarakaeri even refused to touch certain Western

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goods directly. Clothes, for example, were generally never touched, received only with the tip of the arrow, and then buried.

The peace that was instilled, however, was more apparent than real - particularly regarding its internal impact upon the Harakmbut. External peace may thus be considered to have been developed at the expense of the very Harakmbut.

Once those Harakmbut groups, who had avoided direct relations with each other, were brought together in the mission complex, tensions between them not only increased but assumed different forms due to the missionaries. The outside pressures had exacerbated many internal conflicts among the various Harakmbut subgroups, and the Dominicans had but an apparent pacifying effect upon this type of conflict (see, e.g., Alvarez 1941: 151). The Kaichiwe, Palotoa, and Shintuya sites of the San Miguel de los Mashcos mission placed in close proximity people who had previously avoided each other or only come together in negative terms, during raids. While traditional forms of raiding could not take place, distance between sub-groups were maintained and traditional 'outsiders' recurrently blamed for what went wrong, particularly through wichtcraft accusations. For example, those Wachipaeri who acted as mediators for the Dominicans are thought of, by the Harakmbut groups they helped bring in, as witches. This still is true today.

Internal tensions were further exacerbated by both the nucleation of large bodies of people, which contributed to the development of several problems, including the relatively greater ease with which any disease now spread, and the Dominicans' use of these internal conflicts to further

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their own interests (e.g., Almaraz 1963b; Alvarez 1952 : 64, 1936: 67; Martín 1947: 223). A state of competition over the missionary's favors, merchandise, and overall general good will was continually fostered among the various subgroups. The selective distribution of goods, health care, education, and 'sanctity,' contributed at times to the emergence of debt-bondage relationships.

To this day, the two major groups in Shintuya are graded, at various times, as better or worse than the other, depending on which shows greater 'obedience' to the priest. The Father, who also calls such obedience 'love,' accuses those persons who act independently of not 'loving' him. Correspondingly, whenever people outside Shintuya ask in the mission for assistance, it is refused on the theory that these people do not really 'love' the missionary or God. People in Boca de Inambari were repeatedly denied help in dealing with land invasions for that 'reason.' This pattern is also repeated to an extent within each group in Shintuya itself. Thus, although cattle is now being introduced to the mission, only those Amarakaeri and Wachipaeri who remain close to the priest have received any animals thus far. This type of dependency affects the capacity of 'the' Harakmbut to defy the priest on any given issue, both within each group and, perhaps more importantly,, together. The differentiation fostered between and among the Harakmbut can become, consequently, as important as their loss of land.

Further, the distinctions between superiority and inferiority or social 'completeness' and 'incompleteness' which the missionary attempted to reinforce had, at times, tragic results aomng groups practicing witchcraft. The Harakmbut had resorted historically to witchcraft accusations

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- including their ultimate sanction with death - when confronted with grave problems, especially when dealing with one of their categories of Harakmbut 'outsiders.' This occasioned a number of deaths within Shintuya, in addition to the various degrees of continued mistrust and avoidance. These flames were kindled by the Dominicans as well as by the generally precarious conditions of life within the mission complex (see, e.g., Anonymous 1959; Alvarez 1963d). Although there were instances when people fled to the missionary seeking either protection from or intervention in the probable outcome of such accusations, Harakmbut groups tended to leave the mission when such conflicts or fears arose.

An example of this took place in 1973, shortly before I first visited Shintuya. A Yaminahua boy from the Purús river had been brought to Shintuya as a 'protegé' of Father Torralba. Raised in the mission, he ended up wanting to marry a girl from the Kisambaeri group that resided in Shintuya. The girl, however, had fallen in love with a Wachipaeri. Recently abandoned by his wife, this man remained uninterested in the girl. She thus resolved to marry the Yaminahua and, a year later, had his child. But the baby soon died, and the Wachipaeri were blamed. They were accused of jealousy, since the girl had not married into the group. The Kisambaeri decided to kill the elderly mother of the Wachipaeri man invloved. One day, when no one else was around, they waited for her as she walked to the <u>chacra</u> and killed her. The Kisambaeri then set their cluster of settlements in Shintuya on fire and left. The Yaminahua remained in Shintuya and was finally caught and put in jail for six months. No one knew for sure as to his involvement in the killing until one day he tied a loudspeaker before a party with the same type of rope that had been found

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around the woman's neck, after she was dragged to the river and killed.

The Results Differentiated

In the early years, as the Harakmbut joined the mission, they were expected to relinquish their school-age children to the priest (this continues to be the case now among those who do not live in the mission complex) and work solely in those economic activities deemed necessary by the missionary to support the mission structure.. The Arasaeri said that their work in the first mission in Kaichiwe had been so dull and unrewarding, it was their primary reason for leaving it. I received a similar account from Amarakaeri currently in Boca de Inambari concerning Shintuya in the mid 60s. Nonetheless, not all members of a group were usually similarly affected by the mission. It is possible to further differentiate the impact of the Dominican missions upon the Harakmbut.

In general, older people were expected to undergo the changes instilled in a much more shallow manner, to the extent that - as the Dominicans' experience over the years had demonstrated - such people often left the mission once its gift-giving stage was over and burdensome work began to be required in exchange for any 'Western' good. There are, however, few such elderly people still alive, as they were among the first and worst affected by the epidemics that developed. Children, in contrast, particularly those who were either orphans or given to (and initially sometimes simply taken by) the priest to raise and school, grew more habituated to the mission complex. They were not socialized in the practical ideologies required to live an indigenous life in the forest (see, also, Arana 1945: 303; Cenitagoya 1947: 72, 1934: 228-9; Fernández 1930; Sarasola 1938: 82,

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1937a: 206). Sometimes, children were taken to another mission 'station,' from which they either never returned or came back totally transformed and confused about their place in the world. Women maintained, rather, an ambiguous position.

Among women, the missionary tried to foster those practices - oftentime trivial - he thought were required for them to become good 'housewives' in a 'Western' sense; that is, Western 'methods' of sewing, cooking, childrearing, etc. (see Sarasola 1931: 7). While this distanced women from the mainstream of the economic activities alloted to men, it also often turned them, simultaneously, into the principal bearers of critical indigenous domestic lifeways. The woman's position among the Harakmbut was delicate, much like that of an 'outsider.' They could thus easily be blamed by both Harakmbut men and missionaries when certain things did not work out (see, also, Gray 1983). Inasmuch as some matters which went inexplicably wrong among the Harakmbut could be considered to originate in witchcraft, the fear of becoming accused in this way turned women at times into early opponents of the mission complex. Any unusual behavior exhibited on their part - whether or not related to life in the mission - could make them candidates for such accusations. Consequently, women either opposed the mission system and tried to leave it, in an effort to avoid the spread of diseases and conflicts or stayed, assuming a marginal position from the vantage point of the 'mission complex.' Staying, paradoxically, could strengthen their defiant stance and facilitate their management of what the mission could offer, often through pressures placed on their menfolk.

By the time I conducted my fieldwork in Shintuya, children were no

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longer being raised by missionaries, unless their family lived far away. Now, they generally participate in their parents' domestic life until they grow old enough to attend school in the mornings and afternoons. A clearer pattern of differentiation is arising in more recent years, as a result, between the domestic unit's activities and those fostered by the missionary. Among the missionaries' most active supporters, nonetheless, remains a generation of people almost totally raised by them alone. Among these are the orphans 'acquired' between 30 and 40 years ago and those who were taken from their parents and raised apart in a 'mission complex.' These people, especially the orphans, exhibit the most ambiguous positions of all with regard to their Harakmbut 'identity.' Their confusion stands in contrast to not only the younger and older generations within Shintuya itself, but to others in their age bracket outside the mission.

In Shintuya, those who had not undergone early removal from their parents could confront better the totality of their local life conditions. They were generally in the older or younger age groups. Although they asserted their identity as Harakmbut in their internal relations, this did not necessarily solve their problem of claiming their membership in either category. The paradox might lead them to assume a stance of social immobility. This stance, in turn, could reinforce the passivity sought both by the Dominicans and the agents of the outside world. 'Safety' would come to be seen as lying primarily within an internal set of relations, which when overburdened by external pressures, could find an outlet through channels as 'traditional' as the witchcraft accusations previously mentioned. At such times, the world also remained socially narrow and fragmented (on the contradictions, however, bred by this situation see further below).

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In contrast, those who could not fully manage their Harakmbut ideological practices developed more often serious conflicts with themselves and others. A sad example was the prostitution engaged in by a Wachipaeri woman to defend an outside man who abused her physically for years. The father of her child, this man had been prohibited from coming close to Shintuya by her family. To defend him, she accepted money over a long period from a school teacher in the mission in exchange for sexual favors. She told everyone this money came from her child's father, whom she continued trying to see as often as she could without anyone's knowledge. When she became pregnant with the teacher, while her child's father was gone from the area for a few months, her worst fears revolved around the anger and violence she would now face from the latter. Her family, upon uncovery of the arrangement, however, bemoaned the loss of the potential new in-law who had money. Although they had known that the affair was going on, they had said nothing, hoping it would develop into something serious. The woman's total alienation from herself and her family were, in this case, not too distant from her own family's alienation, for other historical reasons. It was not at all rare for women to express their social ambiguity in the sexual arena, in relationship to which they were most frequently sought by outside men.

Men generally expressed their social ambiguity in the political arena. Alienated men often sought a position of leadership that might allow them to manage internal power relations hierarchically and, not infrequently, to the benefit of outsiders. Such people initially sought to accumulate power - economic and/or political - to a greater extent than the rest, and remained symptomatically frustrated when they could not acquire either. Along Shintuya, the Karene river, Boca de Inambari, and Q'oshipata

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such men generally held a helpful and at ease attitude with outsiders, yet an 'air of superiority' within their own communities. This stood markedly in contrast to the more acceptable or traditional leadership, which at work, operated through the involved participation of all around. The behavior of these new leaders often appeared double-edged, frequently oscillating between assertions of self-interest and claims of community solidarity, which could create severe problems for the local Harakmbut. Land invaders were quite adept at identifying such men who, ironically, could later turn into their most defiant enemies, much as in the case of those who mediated for the Dominicans in the establishment of their missions. Fictive ties of kinship, which are neither traditional nor currently widespread among the Harakmbut, could play an additional role in cementing and masking the unequal exchange of commodities for individual use against access to a community's resources that frequently ensued at such times.

Those people who now live in the Harakmbut communities outside the mission may share, to some extent, the above trends. The results, nonetheless, will often vary. Differences emerge among the Amarakaeri from their struggle to define their own conditions of existence. Yet, while the community outside the mission does not have to fear the direct power of the missionary, it can sometimes do little to control some of the problems it may face in dealing with a number of the more indoctrinated converts. These are, again, the individuals most likely to mediate the interests of outsiders among the local Harakmbut, who, further removed from the missionary, do, eventually, stand a better chance of countering collectively a number of the transactions likely to have resulted.

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A number of such instances appear in those areas where gold is being worked and give rise to the previously mentioned pattern of exchange of private commodities for communal resources. Other community members might honor these exchanges initially - generally out of fear of outside authorities and unknown laws - yet that would not last very long. In Boca de Inambari several canoe-loads of unarmed male and female Harakmbut expelled a group of between 20 and 30 men working gold on one of the beaches within their recognized boundaries of land. These people, who had long ago been 'invited' in by a member of the community, had for well over a year been asked politely to leave by everyone in the community. In the end, however, two canoes full of armed guards were brought to throw out the Harakmbut. After a difficult legal process, where more than one ended up temporarily jailed and feeling shocked, it was found that the people who had been working gold in the Harakmbut's beach had no mining title. They were working as peons for a man who already had more than one mining grant, which was legally prohibited. In fact, the Harakmbut had not much minded having an outsider for a while. Their worries began when this outsider not only brought a number of other people in, but actually started to grow a garden to feed everyone there.

In another case where miners were involved, the Harakmbut undressed and painted themselves traditionally, took out their arrows, and began shaking them as an elderly woman shrieked defiantly. The miners, including a number of engineers who had accompanied them, turned right back. As they later commented in a bar, not only had they feared for their lives at that moment, but one of them had literally wet his pants. Everyone laughed, yet word got around not to go close to that community. Sometime after,

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a Dominican priest showed up with a number of engineers who distributed football shirts to every man, telling them they would be working nearby for a while.

The missionary, then, had a recurrent impact upon the means and relationships required to confront the changed conditions of existence. His activities, in fact, served, to place the locus of power beyond the reach of the Harakmbut. At the same time, the missionary's own influence could thus also be expected to diminish when his monopoly over the handling of external relations could be challenged, particularly with regard to the state of 'warre' and the distribution of land (see, also, Alvarez 1923b: 571). His position was thus quite contradictory. Although seemingly in almost 'feudal control,' that control was not absolute but continuously subverted by the economic forces emanating from the larger political economy. Continuous 'commoditization' precluded the victory of the mission as an entirely closed or self-sufficient system.

At the same time, the Dominicans' promise of salvation was never realized for the Harakmbut once they were lured into the mission complex. Despite the services offered, the social and economic means needed to struggle in that direction were both politically withheld by the missionary and turned into the promise which kept everyone at bay - forever on stand-by. What kept people within the mission complex was a promise which fostered dependency, more than the satisfaction of that promise in ways capable of leading to independence. Religion, in this manner, <u>when</u> sold, could become akin to those ideologies within capitalism (including pornography) that are more important for what they promise than what they do.

In the Dominican mission, once the gift-giving stage was over, other

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services were offered which, like commodities, frequently augmented - rather than diminished - the Harakmbut's requirements. The need to consume additional services and goods, then, produced simultaneously an ever increasing level of dependence for both Harakmbut and Dominicans.

The Political Economy of the Mission Complex

Living on the fringes of the broader political economy for centuries, the Harakmbut were finally and irreversibly brought face to face with its processes about the time the Dominicans initiated their work in the area. It is in this particular arena that one may uncover the social underpinnings of the 'mission complex' among the Harakmbut.

The Dominicans' conversion process required more than just acceptance of those practical ideologies which they sought to implant among the Harakmbut for its development. That is, their ideological practice not only originated historically in a particular set of political economic circumstances, but required a concomitant distribution of power for its continuance.

In the Dominicans' practical ideology, the Harakbut were alienated from both natural and supernatural power in parallel structural terms. Just as incorporation into the state denied their ability to manage their own affairs, so the installation of God as an abstract ultimate truth denied the Harakmbut the ability to define and enact their own social truth on-the-ground. Instead, both political and religious power was to be exercised by the Dominicans on behalf of their 'wards.' Yet their effective ability to manage these domains on behalf of their charges would depend not on abstract claims to sovereignty but to tangible

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corresponding changes on-the-ground.

The political developments which brought the Dominicans to Madre de Dios and which they, in turn, upheld and defended in the course of their work, centered upon the need to incorporate the Harakmbut into a state structure, and specifically, into the structure of the Peruvian state (see, e.g., Sarasola 1942). This required the development, first, of those processes which might cement the consolidation of a nation-state in the area. It thereby entailed introducing a common condition of nationhood and subsuming, correspondingly, any already existing 'nationalities.' The Dominicans did all they thought they could to develop the means of communication which might serve as a 'common' means of exchange with the rest of the nation. They thus taught the basics of Spanish, how to read and write, deal with numbers, dress 'occidentally,' formally address outsiders, and sing the national hymn before any major group event, among other symbols of 'national' exchange. They, furthermore, tried to develop their own version of what the outside world consisted of, not only by controlling all contacts, but also the means through which these should take place, including commercial exchanges, roads, and permanent colonization. The Dominicans tried to bridge the gap between 'national' and Harakmbut means of exchange in endless ways, but always maintained their role of mediators in the process.

However, incorporation into the Peruvian nation-state entailed not only the development of a common condition of nationhood, but acceptance of a state structure and, in particular, of the Peruvian state structure. That state has in fact a number of laws which are ambiguous and apparently defend certain rights which can at the same time be questioned through

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alternate and coexistent bodies of legislation. The state processes imposed on the Harakmbut, however, disregarded the critical use which could be made of formal state structures. The Dominicans emphasized totally passive interpretation of the state, whereby all power relinquished by individuals and groups are vested in a 'body' which administers them 'democratically' - that is, to the benefit of 'all' its citizens. The political system advocated by the Dominicans placed power (in fact and form) entirely outside Harakmbut dominion. It provided none of the means, formally or otherwise, by which they might question their immediate or larger social and economic context. Instead, the Harakmbut were to be dispossessed of all their natural and supernatural sources of power. These were to be vested then in their dispossessors, who meant, initially, the Dominicans; secondly, those who sought to settle on their lands; and, lastly, the Peruvian state and 'God.'

In a common hierarchical scheme of social order the only true 'faith' in political and economic terms would be that which derived from 'above,' in this case, from the Dominicans. 'Spiritual' poverty was to serve as the explanatory cause of every other type of impoverishment. The solution advocated for coping with impoverishment would thus lie in conforming to the behavior proposed by those on top. It is not surprising that the Dominicans' journal publicized their support of Franco in Spain - as did most other Catholics at the time - and of Mussolini in Italy. Between the 1940s and 1960s, it only discussed world affairs that seemed to involve the success and spread of their 'competitors,' communists primarily and protestants (this section was called 'Mundo Misionero;' see, also, Menéndez 1926; Santos 1938; Sarasola 1940a).

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The state processes supported in Peru were not abstract. While between 1968 and 1980 a progressive military regime issued the main bodies of legislation concerning native peoples which exist in Peru today, all other governments were ruled by a minority that oscillated between drawing its wealth from non-capitalist forms of production and from the export of raw materials (Cotler 1978). The incorporation of the Harakmbut into the Peruvian state thus involved their historically specific placement within the set of relations thus generated.

Social and economic inequalities governed the disparaties between the Harakmbut's ideological practices and those fostered by the Dominicans. These inequalities thus also inform the content of the national and political institutions advocated by the missionaries. These structures entailed the concrete (and not just formal or ideological) subordination of the Harakmbut. These then had to respond to the proposed models on the basis of their real implications for them (although within the gamut of responses or ideological practices available, now in many important aspects generated for them by the Dominicans). These inequalities, however, also posed certain contradictions for the Dominicans, much as did the processes of state consolidation in the area. That is, neither model could work well where entirely dispossessed people did not exist or where, further, this very fact called into question the optimism with which incorporation into a larger capitalist economy was being greeted.

The Dominicans' notions of the world remained foreign to the Harakmbut. Although the Harakmbut soon learned, and thus to various extents utilized, many of the terms of political exchange pursued by the Dominicans, they also continued to believe in their own healing efficacy when dealing with

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disorders that did not appear to originate from outsiders. This paralleled the boundaries of the external conditions of existence which the Dominicans controlled in practice. For example, the internal distribution of the Harakmbut in Shintuya shows that despite the introduction of nuclear housing by the Dominicans, the Harakmbut retained what whould have been their spatial arrangement within a traditional maloca. Another examole regards the Dominicans' assignment of Spanish names and modes of reckoning kinship with no concern for the Harakmbut's own kinship affiliations. Among themselves, the Harakmbut simply continue to transmit their own sets of names and develop those kinship relations which retain their importance under the changed circumstances (see, for example, Moore n.d.).

The Dominicans were able to instill their hierarchical ideology of exchange primarily in those social and economic areas that they controlled. In contrast, the Harakmbut controlled basically their own 'internal' sets of relationships and surrounding practical ideologies. Yet these two domains were by no means wholly separate. On the contrary, they existed in a permanent state of tension through which external relations affected internal ones, and viceversa.

Moreover, the social and economic gaps between the Harakmbut and remaining natimnals emerged not only in part from the general contradictions of capitalist development in Peru. They also remained closely contingent upon its particular expressions in the region. At certain times, capitalism in the Madre de Dios area might produce an army of dispossessed and a small elite of dispossessors. At other times, however, it simply did not find in the area the means of surplus production which could

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underwrite the full deployment of a more intense process of accumulation.

Within this uncertain peripheral context, nonetheless, the Dominicans advocated the self-sustained or reproduced conditions of capitalist development. Paradoxically, this then became the major source of internal contradiction in their own message. The processes they advocated could not be supported, except periodically, by the surrounding economy. It is this that underlay their need to resort to the use of political means that might reproduce their social message.

Under these circumstances the Dominicans' work could only proceed to the extent to which they, first, could be externally subsidized or, second, change their social message to fit more closely into the requirements of those among whom they sought to further their work (see, e.g., Alvarez 1984, 1977b; Sarasola 1936b, 1935b: 212). When the Dominicans first initiated their endeavors among the Harakmbut, the surrounding gold economy and state interest in the development of roads and colonization contributed significantly to their success in grouping the Harakmbut within a mission complex. As these external factors waned, several Harakmbut returned to their lands while those who stayed did so to the extent that either the regional economy or external subsidies allowed for the reproduction of the mission complex on a reduced scale (for example, Shintuya in more recent years).

An apparent exception would be Puerto Luz. A Dominican priest along with a female secular missionary and teacher had been living there for the past few years. The closer adaptation of the social message they diffused to 'local' conditions found its counterpart on-the-ground in this priest's

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own specific lack of interest in diffusing vertical terms of access to goods and services and the weak local presence of state institutions (Moore and Gray, personal communication). In this area the gold boom and the pressures it generated on land resources were at their height and momentarily placed the Dominicans and the Harakmbut on the same side of the fence, against the more anarchic surrounding gold miners. (Nonetheless, the priest involved has since been asked by his superiors to take a prolonged vacation.)

The locus of power in the Madre de Dios region thus remains in a constant state of flux, despite the ideology of the Dominicans, which generally assumes the contrary. This puts a brake on the thorough diffusion of the Dominicans' practical ideology among the Harakmbut. Despite the profound political impact of the Dominicans on the Harakmbut, then, social and economic life among them can be controlled only imperfectly.

This is further explained by looking at the issue in terms of its implications for the Harakmbut. If they were to relinquish control entirely over their remaining social and economic conditions of existence, they would not long survive. The surrounding capitalist economic processes in the area are not self-reproducing. They thrive, rather, on an on-going process of 'primitive' accumulation that within Peru, simultaneously expresses and contributes to a progressive deterioration of the terms of exchange between city and country. At a local level, this fosters, in the absence of capitalist investment, a very extensive use of the land or generates a need to derive a supplement from elsewhere if a surplus is to be produced.

Thus, in Madre de Dios, the extraction of lumber, rubber, and gold

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currently prove profitable only when new sources of these products may be continuously tapped into. This in turn entails both permanently moving on to new areas and a capacity for accumulation related to one's position in either the national and/or international structures of social differentiation. An initial outlay of capital is always required for such a process to work profitably. Without it, attainment of gains high enough to cover commercial costs of production in the areas remains impossible.

Once there, the colonists who work in agriculture or migrate temporarily to the area must always find ways to complement their costs of production and subsistence. This may require having to produce for their own self-subsistence. However, in Madre de Dios this is generally impossible, given the constant displacement caused by the more profitable industries in the area. Alternately, it may entail meeting their subsistence needs through goods obtained in the place of origin. Obtaining goods from their homelands implies having to become progressively indebted and living but temporarily in Madre de Dios (two mechanisms that were discussed in chapter 8).

Thus, the key to survival for the Harakmbut lies in their continued control over their land. They can neither produce nor reproduce their basic means of subsistence without it (which is not to say that innovations are not now pertinent or required). As we have seen, this, in turn, inhibits the development of monopolic control by the Dominicans.

Yet this ability to evade control entails its own paradoxes. Economically, the Harakmbut in Shintuya depend strongly upon their own traditional forest resources. Work in the chacras is generally a daily

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affair for women who receive additional help from their husbands for certain tasks. Men hunt and, along with women, fish, particularly at certain times of the year. However, natural resources are beginning to diminish. As both a Wachipaeri and Arasaeri have stated independently, in today's economy natural resources alone do not meet the demands of everyday life. Furthermore, the Harakmbut not only need (or have grown accustomed to) certain Western goods - e.g., machetes, firearms, or clothing, among others (including nutritionally poor carbohydrate-based products) - but are judged by the missionaries and other outsiders by the extent that they consume such goods (regardless of the inherent values they might have). Hence, their time and energy have to be allocated, in varying degrees, to cash producing activities within the mission complex controlled by the missionary. People search for and sometimes find a way of circumventing the priest to earn cash. But, almost by definition, given the nature of the surrounding political economy, this is rarely more than a fleeting affair.

The type of cash activities fostered in the mission complex diverted the Harakmbut from alternative economic activities and, further, generally caused them to fall into a state of indebtedness from which it was very difficult to break away. People in Shintuya would point out that although various priests had sworn before God that the installment of a lumber mill would be to their advantage, they kept working to feed the machine with no return. The mission basically subsisted, not on account of the surpluses extracted from the Harakmbut (which when at all were minimal), but of the external support it received. Although this, in more recent times, could even take the form of a grant, much as in any development

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project, the sale of donated goods also plays a part which, if important, is nearly impossible to measure with precision.

Those Harakmbut who live outside the mission complex are not necessarily able to transcend the limitations imposed on them by the surrounding political economy. They have suffered not only from more land invasion, but from being continuously belittled for having 'too much' land, still being 'nomads,' or not knowing how to 'produce.' Even local state officials adopt such a perspective by rarely seriously considering those individual Harakmbut who state their case before them. Yet, by not committing themselves to full 'commoditization,' such Harakmbut consciously endeavor to not destroy their resources and future possibilities of production in the territory still controlled by them. This concern and constant state of preoccupation with their future possibilities is readily evident among the members of the communities of Boca de Inambari, San Jose del Karene, and Puerto Luz (see, also, Moqui 1982). The Dominicans, in contrast, unilaterally call into question both the future production and reproduction processes of the Harakmbut within the mission complex.

At the same time, in so far as relationships among men and between men and nature are specifically social and not just natural, continued control over the basic and essential means of production by the Harakmbut also depends on the maintenance of appropriate, socially instituted patterns of production and exchange among themselves. To this extent such control is affected by the Dominicans who consciously kindle long lost hatreds or divisions among various Harakmbut groups. By itself, however, the tactic of 'divide and rule' alone cannot erase the Harakmbut potential for an independent social response. An example may be seen in the time the

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Harakmbut were first coming together to form an Indian federation. The Dominicans opposed the idea. In trying to prevent those from Shintuya from going, the priest unsuccessfully threatened the Wachipaeri whose motorboat was going to be used to travel to the meeting, telling him that if he left, his lumber would not be taken to the mill and cut. The Wachipaeri replied that his personal concerns were secondary and left.

The Harakmbut control, by and large, both the means and organization of their domestic production, as previously mentioned. Yet, it is not just that parallel systems exist: one for handling internal relations, basically defined by the Harakmbut, and another for dealing with external relations, delimited by the Dominicans. Each places limits on and affects the other in different ways under different contexts, while the return by the Harakmbut to either extreme is not necessarily to a replica either of what existed before. Thus, the Harakmbut could not retreat into a 'positive' internal sphere unaffected by the changes that have come from without. The social organization of the Harakmbut is founded not only upon their social continuity and control over land, which can help sustain their own social and economic processes of production, it is also dependent upon the varying terms under which they are politically capable of affecting the terms of their interdependence, and thus alter the terms of incorporation into the larger society.

The Dominicans, in hierarchizing not only their own relationships with the Harakmbut, but among the Harakmbut themselves, attempt to introduce the seeds of social differentiation. Yet the Harakmbut can and do struggle over the definition of a different set of terms of interaction. They do this at times unconsciously, simply by opposing what does not suit them

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when the Dominicans have little bargaining power. More frequently, however, this response now ensues upon the realization that individual or isolated responses will never carry them beyond a certain threshold, despite the promises they may receive to the contrary. During my fieldwork, when the Harakmbut got together, I often heard them coaching each other about how no one should ever again be trusted whom they might either not know well or remain unable to control later. Nonetheless, people also knew that consciousness of this issue would not suffice and that, as important, would be the social capacity to enforce a corresponding practice.

That is not necessarily always easily accomplished. And it is in this sense that the Dominicans have had a profound social impact, despite the objective possibilities which can be activated to counter it. The Harakmbut in the mission complex increasingly retain decision power only over those internal conditions of production and reproduction considered to be marginal by the Dominicans. Correspondingly, in the process the Harakmbut yield their decision-making power over domains that include both those which can be controlled by them and those which have allowed the Dominicans to initiate a monopoly over external relations. As long as they remain passive and dependent in this external regard, their possibilities for breaking out of the 'mission complex' are limited.

This, then, reduces the need to materially or physically hold them in place in regard to the larger society, while showing how 'ideological' structures of domination may prove overwhelmingly powerful at times. For this reason, states recurrently find in both the Church and school systems two of their most powerful allies. Church and school, in turn, often welcome the intervention on their side (see, e.g., W. Fernández 1952;

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Zubieta 1921: 387).

Ideologies constitute a parsimonious means of control over existing social and economic conditions of existence, hence, they are important wherever state structures appear, regardless of the specific character they may be given. Vertical ideological structures always reify particular interests and abstract principles that are then inevitably posed as the ultimate source of verity (whether they entail, in their particulars, a notion of 'God,' 'progress,' 'democracy,' 'civilization,' or other). The concept of an ultimate truth thus has its counterpart in a source of ultimate 'right,' recurrently called into question in both instances by alternative social 'truths' and processes.

In the case of the Amazon, however, where land is not, except in relative terms, a limited good, the state must play a role if capitalist accumulation is to take place at all. Where the state is not fully consolidated, physical violence can insure the results desired. This has not only taken place historically (e.g., during the rubber boom) but continues to this day, particularly with 'extractive' processes at work in many places (see, e.g., Alvarez 1941: 151; Foweraker 1981; Holzman 1951; Sarasola 1929). The economic transfer of surpluses in such contexts largely takes place through political means, which may include the exercise of sheer force, bodies of legislation issued by the state, and those practical ideologies fostered through religious missions and schools.

This is not to say that the economic inequalities which appear within the Amazon do not play a part in the accumulation processes at work. They do. But a colonization front such as the Amazon, rather

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than exhibit a clear contrast between dispossessors and dispossessed, has above all possessors of varying degrees who can in an ultimate instance be made only to relinquish their control over resources through political means. The use of political structures, including ideology, is always backed up in such contexts, then, by the threat of violence, whether or not the agents appear up front or remain the same in each instance.

These forms of mediation in the accumulation process, which can be either expressed ideologically or politically, remain vulnerable before the developments of the broader political economy. Although a number of the economic processes in progress in the Amazon can be regarded as peripheral to the reproduction of the state - and certainly to the major processes of capitalist accumulation - this also, in and of itself, makes for the imperfect control recurrently exhibited in areas where dominant structures are never more than partially consolidated. It is in these interstitial spaces where, as initially suggested, complementary mechanisms of state consolidation tend to develop. Natural and social conditions of existence thus may develop by way of ideological practices which are indistinctly political and conceptual. Both can mediate the relations men establish with fellow men and nature. Force or coercion are directly called for only where ideology - the more parsimonious means of material control - ceases to find an unalienated praxis.

Religious Missions and Social Reproduction

Missionaries introduce sets of relations which refer to the ways in which humans relate to each other - hence, with divine figures - in ways

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that can alter social reproduction processes. The missionary's source of power, and major social impact, derives precisely from this simultaneous introduction of means for establishing relationships - ideational, social, and economic - through which a given population may define and confront their partly invisible conditions of existence.

Missionaries foster through the particular civilizational schemes they introduce, social sets of values and means that advance particular concerns while leaving others dormant. Consequently, those processes argued to lie subject to natural as opposed to supernatural law cast aside, at the same time, those conditions of existence upon which man is considered capable of making a difference.

The distinction between the underpinnings of social production and those governing the processes of reproduction emerges as critical in this context. The basic characteristics of social production may be considered governed by everyday social and economic conditions of existence. The second set of processes governing social reproduction, however, involve the stances assumed in the confrontation of such conditions over time. Social reproduction processes are guided, then, by those practical ideologies defined by a particular group of persons in confronting their existing social and natural conditions of existence.

Ideational issues - whether religious, technologic, or other - thus entail a doubly political component. Not only do they point out 'that which is or can be,' in contradistinction to 'that which one must let be,' but, these principles themselves are based on contending 'relations of practices.' It is in this respect that <u>who</u> diffuses a given religion -

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or sets its final referent - can become as important as the ideological meaning of the religious message itself.

Since concrete political economic relations underlie the 'communication' problems that arise in the diffusion of a religion, the social impact of a proselytizing effort will remain limited by those relations. If, in this regard, who holds power may be of signal importance in the beginning, over time the precise nature of the political economic processes involved will be of greater determinant weight.

The symbolic and social power of missions, as well as the obstacles which they encounter in their path, derive from the precise unfolding of the social and economic relations that prove to be critical in the context of evangelization for those whose conversion is being sought. The key difference between the distinct communities involved in the proselytizing endeavor, then, is not the cultural baggage utilized to denote given phenomena or relations. How relations or phenomena are connected can receive different names and, still, remain the same, while the inverse may also happen - different relations and phenomena can be given like names and, yet, carry different meanings (see, for an example of the first, Horton 1967, and of the second, Fins 1984).

At a very general level, one can expect that the diffusion of a religious mission shall be accommodated with relative ease when it contributes to the internal reproduction processes of a given group, and that it will be rejected or resisted, when it does not. To the extent that these reproduction processes internal to a group are challenged recurrently, as is generally the case, a contradictory set of stances can be expected

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to develop - still bound, however, by the processes of social production and reproduction found at work.

Thus, although a transformation of economic production may (in addition to other changes) take place in the conversion context, for as long as a group is forced to stand together - even if in changed ways - the alternate 'civilizational' schemes introduced will be limited by the potential political economic significance of such social continuity. In other words, in so far as the field of forces which helps define economic production is never static or exempt from contradictions of varying weight, the processes of social reproduction at work at any given moment will contribute to setting such fields of forces in unanticipated and increasingly fluctuating directions.

In this respect, missionaries may indeed be viewed as brokers, or critical elements of part-whole relationships, who can advance processes of development or dependency (P. Schneider, et al. 1977; Silverman 1977). Yet the precise nature of the political economic processes thereby entailed remain, in the long run, of greater weight.

Power can thus become more than just the sheer exercise of force. It can assume different forms in varying contexts, becoming most effective when invisible - or in its ideological as opposed to material form. Yet it can also remain, even in the context of an all-encompassing capitalist economy and the active diffusion of a 'Western' scheme of life, along with other hegemonic processes, unable to continuously subvert all the people brought together within a given distribution of power.

Thus, although one may consider that involvement in hegemonic processes

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equates subjection, and thereby loss in significance of remaining particularities, it is also possible to discern in these remaining differences the seeds of contending relations. Such differences, termed by Williams (1973) in the first case, 'alternate,' and in the second, 'oppositional' may, moreover, switch positions. It is for this reason that the precise contexts and political economic processes which may affect social reproduction have been emphasized in this study in trying to understand anthropologically a religion's diffusion and social impact.

Missionaries may often advance their endeavors quite unaware of the political economic processes being set in motion. Despite their lack of consciousness, however, missionaries work is conditioned by the field of forces which underlies their context of emergence as well as the stances assumed on the part of those being evangelized in response to their particular social message.

In their social impact, missionaries provoke many of the same issues that confront projects of development, political change, or applied anthropology. However, they tend to differ not only in length of time spent and the degree of involvement with the people among whom they work but, correspondingly, in the all-encompassing nature and depth or their relationship with the different facets of life they seek to transform. They thus can strike deeper and, as often noted, aim at changes of heart, mind, and body - as opposed to just altering specific aspects of life.

Hence, attribution of an inherent, natural, or God-given order to historically specific social forces may at first offer a measure of respite in midst of chaos while it may contribute later on to that chaos itself. The missionary's tendency to assign as unquestioned superiority

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to his own faith, however, blinds him to where the political economic underpinning of his faith is concerned but, even more to the determinants of those faiths he may encounter among his potential converts. This makes missionaries particularly ill-suited for noting the social consequences of their actions. What they gain through commitment is thereby frequently outweighed by the implications of their unawareness of the precise social and political economic differences they set out to curtail among those with whom they work.

The fact that not all societies evolve in the same ways, nor become evenly acculturated upon exposure to different civilizational schemes, constitutes a problem that cannot be solved by reference to cultural ideology alone. However, not only are anthropologists and missionaries at times slow at recognizing this, but sometimes, those subject to processes of cultural and religious diffusion as well. Hence the impact that the degree of consciousness held and expressed concerning visible and invisible economic, political, and ideological conditions of existence may have upon social reproduction processes.

The hegemonic processes entailed by the formation of a nation or the consolidation of a state structure are also limited by the underpinnings of very similar sets of processes. Both ethnicity and ethnic struggle, or ethnogenesis, can be regarded in this light, as an outcome of contending processes of social reproduction - regardless of the extent to which social differentiation or class formation exist or have begun to take place (see, for example, Rothenberg 1980).

Culture appears to have a very special role in crystallizing relationships of social reproduction over time. At the same time it

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both affects 'short term' political economic events, and is in turn affected by them. The interaction of culture with processes of social reproduction is thus of signal importance. We have seen the significance of this in the particular case of religious proselytization we have examined. The issue, however, has a wider relevance. It appears in all contexts where different civilizational schemes impinge on one another, where the carriers of a hegemonic culture strive to transform subaltern groups, and where this process of transformation is resisted by those who form its target. It is thus not enough to define situations wholly in terms of contending relations of production. What is missing from the literature on 'the development of underdevelopment' or on the 'articulation of different modes of production' is precisely the sense that the expansion of a dominant mode of production may set off 'alternate' or 'oppositional' countercurrents as various groups attempt to control their processes of social reproduction. This does not mean that 'culture' exerts an autonomous or independent effect. Its effects are always contextual, in contexts defined by the social relations that make its existence possible (see, also, McClellan 1985; Vilar 1973; Wolf 1982).

Consequently, ideology, consciousness, and religion - understood as the particular faith expressed or spirituality developed by a group, regardless of the name it receives - while partially different sets of social phenomena, are neither mutually exclusive nor present in similar ways throughout. In each case, determined by social being, they may play different parts in any one group (even at any one time). What has to be questioned in this regard is whose social being do they respond to or at what historical moments and within what parameters (see for a similar point, Ossowski 1973).

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While fully autonomous individuals or societies may not exist anywhere, social terms of exchange and interaction can nonetheless affect and be affected by the social meaning of ideational phenomena:

> ... the important question is not that of whether our actions are determined - since there is no doubt that they are determined - but of how and by what they are determined - by external causes or by our own knowledge of our needs and of how to satisfy them. When the question is put like this, then it is evident that freedom is a matter of degree. We make ourselves free only in so far as we bring it about that our own conscious decision based on knowledge is the thing which determines what we do and achieve. But such freedom can seldom if ever be absolute. The more it is our own decision based on knowledge which determines our actions and their outcome, and the less they are decided for us by other factors, the greater is the degree of freedom of action which we have achieved. ...
>
> The struggle for freedom means in essence people's struggle to be able to satisfy their own requirements, material and cultural, for which is needed knowledge of those requirements and of how to satisfy them, and the power to effect that satisfaction (Cornforth 1971: 196, 199-200).

Although changes in inter- and intra-local relations will indeed challenge existing means of communication and interaction, alternative stances often exist, producing increased dependency or development. Hegemonic processes, including those entailed by both Church and state structures, once closely scrutinized, can always be found to move through a contradictory field of forces and thus crystallize but relatively momentary contending sets of relations. Dispensers of 'ultimate verities' are finally circumscribed by actual social verities under concrete conditions of existence and, particularly, social processes of reproduction. Thus, not only can religious and cultural diffusion take place with varying results, but these very pressures for change contain themselves the seeds of contradictory forces and relationships.

At a first level of analysis, one may say that those groups who prove

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capable of resisting tend to also 'manage' their subsistence base to varying extents (Hohenthal and McCorkle 1955; Lehnertz 1974; Morey and Morey 1973; Phelan 1967; Salamone 1980). Yet people can also undergo major transformations even before direct attempts to change their religious or cultural practices begin to shape (Greenberg 1947; Hutchinson 1957). Missionaries like to argue that in such circumstances, had they not been present, the results of secular forces would in all likelihood have been more tragic. This may be the case, although not always (see, for example, Scheffel 1983; Lyon, personal communication).

Missionaries may also introduce changes that can undermine remaining social and economic structures, to the very detriment of the group of people being evangelized, regardless of whether this is done intentionally or not (Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Jackson 1984; Nida 1958; Tippett 1972).

While missionaries may draw on anthropological experiences of directed culture change, these are not always relevant (Hickman 1965; Kleymeyer 1982). More than just social engineering is involved. Moreover, whether the cultural or religious lesson is 'learned' or not, is no guarantee, in and of itself, that is shall be used as intended, and thus prevent the rise of resistance, perhaps in a different form (Lanternari 1963; Upadhayaya 1980; Worsley 1968). Hence there are even disagreements about what 'learning' the lesson consists of (see, for example, Nida 1961). A recurrent point of contention with regard to what 'learning' the lesson means, is whether the diffusing religions become integrated into the recipient religious and social phenomena, or remain merely juxtaposed to them (see Marzal 1983). This issue may also be posed with regard to cultural change more generally. However, for both missionaries

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and anthropologists the quest for resolution of this problem depends initially on how the issues at work are defined.

In this context, it is useful to emphasize - if one wants to avoid the ideological trappings missionaries and anthropologists frequently fall prey to - not the ideological conflicts between doctrines, but the concrete incompatibilities of fellow men and their opposed practical ideologies. As Gellner has suggested, ideological conflict follows when principles, rather than tangible men or 'shrines' fall into opposition (1978; see also Feuchtwang 1975). It is therefore important to search for the critical historical conditions of the emergence and impact of competing practical ideologies (Asad 1983; Bonte 1975; Marx 1970).

Where proselytizing is involved, religious structures assume the ideological functions of a dogmatic doctrinal stance above all. They recurrently confront, for this reason, a non-unitary complex of social relationships marked by corresponding ideological ambiguities (see, also, Hirst 1976; Mariátegui 1973). That is, in so far as religions are directed and responsive to those ultimate concerns of man that may impel him to act by the will of a 'deity,' a basic relationship between these characteristics and the concrete ultimate conditions of existence and power in evryday life may not only be uncovered (Lessa and Vogt 1965; Wach 1958; Yang 1961). This relationship will also be found to lie at the base of the existing discrepancies between the will of a 'deity' and practical reality. To an extent, then, imposed religions always remain as juxtaposed as the social relations that are involved. Different positions, in this regard, express dissimilar experiences (see, also, Doyal and Harris 1983; Ossowski 1973).

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This, however, does not deny the part that may be played by an imposed ideology or its great social weight at given moments. When particular ultimate conditions of social existence remain effectively outside every man's control, how they are managed or defined and by whom can make all the difference in the world. Those issues beyond a group's immediate grasp that are defined by particular opposed men can result, at times, in an expression of force being applied, although without evident expenditure of energy (Bourdieu 1979).

Consent, then, can seem a by far more important and parsimonious means of social control over time than either violence or an outraged human nature (Godelier 1974; Tawney 1960). As in the case of the Dominican missions, coercion may be put into practice by either resolving or negating existing social contradictions which pose historically specific relationships as natural, immovable verities (Hvalkof and Aaby 1981; Johnson 1980; Poulantzas 1978).

In a second sense, imposed religions thus have to be considered 'integrated,' if also subject to the redefinitions and confrontations that may result from the development of the conflicting forces which underlie those social production processes now linked by economic conditions on a world level. The social impact of a mission, in this way, should not be considered a set 'thing,' but rather one part of an ongoing process. Ideational and materialist factors are tied together in ways that call forth the constant analysis of the conditions underlying their varying links at different moments.

The problems of the diffusion and social impact of religious proselytism can be approached separately, but neither can be finally understood without

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at the same time examining the relations established between the different communities of people involved in either process. Who diffuses a given religion - or socially sets its final referent - is thus not only as important as the meaning of the religious message itself, but can help explain both the symbolic power and social meaning of religious missions and the obstacles these encounter in their course of diffusion.

Current Harakmbut Responses

Harakmbut culture is 'different' among those who have been brought up in the mission complex. Yet, the language, mythical corpus of knowledge, and kin classifications, among other cultural expressions, remain fairly constant among all, inside and outside the mission. It is the social meaning given to such cultural symbols that varies.

Harakmbut cultural manifestations are not just the object of, alternately, shame, pride, or indifference for various people but, correspondingly, the means by which position in the larger social order is fought over. In this first sense, then, and before delving into the content such distinctions may have, who the Harakmbut identify with can be posited to have further implications concerning where they search socially with regard to their future.

The issue is, moreover, not simply a matter of choice. It can include a state of ambiguity or confusion that may reign in varying degrees and at different moments both within and among individuals. The core of the matter lies in the different meanings social reproduction may assume upon exposure to a changing political economy and, particularly, mission complex. Thus, one can frequently observe a tendency among a

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number of persons to argue about the unimportance of the problems in their villages long before they prove capable of issuing a response to looming threats. The experience lacking is not the existence of problems, but the possibility of being able to do anything about them under present circumstances.

A given 'faith' is a socially and historically informed stance before given conditions of living, whether it is thus acknowledged or not. In this regard, the Dominicans introduced a belief in a particular regional set of processes that went far beyond a 'neutral' introduction of Western cultural codes. As this study has tried to demonstrate, political economic variables can be of primary import in the battle of 'ideas' that ensues between a missionary and the population he seeks to convert. When taken into consideration, they contribute to unveil the social meaning of the missionary's faith in those particular processes he attempts to instill through a mission complex.

The regional analogue of what the Dominicans tried to carry out in Madre de Dios was to be found, precisely, among those social actors whom they both supported and admired and from whom they, in turn, received their most substantial backing. These actors, furthermore, stood in a similar structural relationship before the state ideology concerning both the fate of the region and the social value of the tasks to be carried out by the Dominicans.

Thus, state, Dominicans, and local actors converged for as long as 'faith' was maintained in the future of colonization and permanent settlement of the area. Practice, expressed in the political economic processes regionally underway demonstrated, nonetheless, that this could be the

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achievement of but a select few and, particularly, those whose previous economic level of accumulation could support their subsequent diversification of productive activities on a regional scale. Neither powerful enough to be able to withdraw elsewhere with the capital accumulated regionally, nor so wholly vulnerable as to crumble economically before regional vicissitudes, such parts were recurrently played by those who stood at the apex in the regional political economy. It is thus that in the missions established along the Alto Madre de Dios river valley, the major figures in the area at the time of the rubber boom, during the existence of the mission of San Luis Del Manu, and, currently, the leading timber producers and hacendados (estate owners) constituted the Dominicans' most staunch supporters. Ironically, the Dominicans were opposed by many outsiders involved in the migratory extraction of gold, the activity, precisely, for which they began clearing a path 50 years before.

Both the 'spirit' of the Dominicans' faith and Harakmbut's state of ambiguity constitute social points of arrival. The issues introduced by the Dominicans' social understanding of their task at hand did not account for the processes and mechanisms which could lead to or sustain the social 'roles' they advocated and stood for. Correspondingly, the Harakmbut's acceptance of the mission complex - concerning their place in the larger social order - would never, per se, transform them either into analogues of the regional actors the Dominicans argued they could become. The development of acquiescent behavior would not be sufficient to turn the Harakmbut into equals and, much less, get them fair treatment. Thus the confusion permanently at work among certain Harakmbut. The faith of the Dominicans concerning the permanent settlement of Madre de Dios, had as

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its social referent, those priviledged regional actors whose processes of economic accumulation they rendered invisible. The practical ideologies proposed by the Dominicans were thereby not viable for just anyone in Madre de Dios.

The Dominicans strove to turn the Harakmbut into characters whose part on a regional level could only be derived from one or more of the political means of 'primitive' accumulation regionally underway. It is for this reason that the Harakmbut lived in constant fear. The Dominicans, however, posed the issue not as it truly was but as a product, above all, of the passive adoption of Western traits. In relationship to these they proposed an artificial, non-viable, imaginary course of development. Although many Harakmbut saw through this, they were not only required to demonstrate a stake in the reproduction of this segment of social reality while in the mission complex. Even when they were able to break loose from the set of conceptions thereby entailed, they still had to struggle against the same type of social myths elsewhere, as long as alternate means of managing their current reality remained unavailable or ineffective in countering their position in the social distribution of power underway in Madre de Dios. In Boca del Karene not only were the Amarakaeri recurrently told by outside gold miners to go 'back' to the forest and leave the gold 'alone,' but they eventually did have to move elsewhere when they did not obtain the title to this land. The Harakmbut were continually enveloped by social messages which declared that as Harakmbut they were not worthy of respect or consideration and that it would be best if they should 'disappear from the face of this earth.' People often addressed them as peons who did not know how to 'work,' had 'too

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much' land for the size of their population, etc. Thus dealing directly with the outside world could also have a 'sobering' effect upon the Harakmbut. Beyond a certain degree, humiliation led to anger and could — and did - underlie later stances of social defiance.

The working link between the search for adequate means to confront their current conditions of existence and part assigned in the social distribution of power, is expressed in the Härakmbut's own recent participation in an alternate level of social organization by way of a federation, FENAMAD (Federación Nativa del Madre de Dios). If at times handicapped by the biases and divisions the Dominicans fostered in the mission complex and which generated attitudes of passivity and resignation, through FENAMAD the Harakmbut began to struggle to improve the terms of exchange with outsiders. When they stand together, their 'voice' sounds a lot louder and clearer than those of most other residents in the area. Derived from their own requirements, the issues addressed by FENAMAD also focus more closely upon the means better suited to meet their current needs and conditions of existence. Through FENAMAD, then, the Harakmbut are able to emphasize their need for land, health, and education - countering both their internal processes of social differentiation and the Dominicans' and other regional powers' interest in their continued inaction within their changed environment.

Yet, the Harakmbut always have to struggle, not only 'internally,' against the parts instilled among them very early concerning their Harakmbut condition - e.g., as "Mashco savages unworthy by definition of deserving any better on that basis" - but 'externally,' toward finding the precise means or resources - conceptual and material - by which they

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might improve their current terms of exchange.

Oftentime, the older Harakmbut better address the issue of derogatory treatment and discrimination, to the extent that they have experienced life without colonization. The younger ones are apt to be more successful in pinpointing resources, for their experience with the world yonder has taught them more than something about its workings. Thus, when an Amarakaeri elder from Boca de Inambari spoke in the second congress of FENAMAD held in 1982, he expressed deep anger about current land invasions and pointed out that they had never invaded anyone's garden in Lima, hence, they did not deserve anyone from 'Lima' invading their own garden. With this, after three days of meeting, all started to finally participate in the discussions. This Amarakaeri elder does not speak Spanish, but said that if he could, he would be directly coordinating more things. He thereby legitimized the role assumed by the younger and more knowledgeable if more uncertain Harakmbut. However, among both age groups, old or young, it is those men and women whose experience with the larger society is greater who prevail as crucial participants and frequently hold the positions of leadership in FENAMAD as well.

The line dividing what should be acted upon from what should not depends upon, both, the knowledge of who is benefiting from what or why <u>and</u> the collective stance that may be taken to address the issues involved. In the words of a Wachipaeri:

> A man alone cannot do anything. One alone says something, no one is going to listen. My people are afraid. ... But let them hear us this time. They have always promised. They have never done anything.
>
> The priest has his lumber mill, we cut wood. We push it there, he cuts, we pay for it, the balance is ours. We do not know where we sell. Some one buys out there. Of all that, we do not know, why are things so?

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Another man, in introducing himself in a meeting to discuss current problems, said that, alone, he remained but an isolated branch of a tree. In the foreground the commentary could be heard, "At least we are starting to talk; not very well, but at least we are talking, beyond gossip."

FENAMAD defies, precisely, what have been the most significant foci of Dominican endeavor: the development of a process of stratified differentiation through the early indoctrination of children and the kindling of internal divisions. The 'who' the Harakmbut define themselves as, thus, not only corresponds to 'where' they claim truth to lie, but in the same stroke, 'what' they struggle over and 'how.' In these concerns they are backed by, both, other native organizations and national and international level 'outsiders' who are actively conscious of and involved in working through various sets of social contradictions posed by the continued growth of exchange as opposed to use value on a world level (see Mandel, 1978, for a discussion of some limits that may be inherent to such external sources of support).

The 'who' of an ideological message is thus important not only because it may imply a given capacity to enforce a social message in particular, but because it represents, at the same time, a given social stance. The latter posits a social position and set of means by which to attain it. That the Dominicans reproduced the mission complex on the social basis they did was not the product of a working model, but of the support they received from those interested in reproducing such a myth.

Among the Harakmbut and the Dominicans, more important than the

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cultural codes developed are the processes of social reproduction being served or upheld. Not only is the Harakmbut's 'resignation' a point of arrival, given their experience in confronting the 'larger society,' and especially the Dominicans, but their 'resistance' is a product of the struggle whereby the social assumptions surrounding them are recurrently confronted through a precise stance regarding their own means and requirements - a process that is by no means easy to either define or curtail. At one meeting of FENAMAD, for example, the Amarakaeri man who led it, himself president of his own community, shifted constantly between wresting importance from the event and then giving it his most emphatic support. After several days of this, his second stance came to prevail. The person was an orphan, who knew the 'outside' world relatively well, the reason why he was given leadership roles, yet in everyday life also alternated between trying to improve his individual position and then realizing that this could not work without the type of support he could have through cooperation with other Harakmbut.

The Harakmbut's own internal divisions, then, in the process may either be considered as traditional and intractable, or a result of precise points of contention, and capable of being overcome in the effort to guarantee their social reproduction. One could go down a list of cultural traits and similarly find at each point that their meaning can remain subject to diametrically opposed interpretations, depending on how they are used to express _whose_ requirements. In that regard, and although hostile relations had already existed among the Harakmbut before the Dominicans made an appearance, the clan emerges as a cultural structure that in addition to dividing people, as when witchcraft accusations ensue, can also help group people beyond their particular territorial units.

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Clan members, regardless of where they live, consider themselves as family members at such points.

By standing together on crucial issues, the development of a federation had concentrated and focused the formerly isolated expressions of the problems posed by the Harakmbut's incorporation into the broader political economy. This imparts to Harakmbut efforts a measure of effective power. Before its existence, only one community possessed titles to its land: Shintuya. Now most communities are titled as a result of FENAMAD's work. Various projects have also emerged regarding land defense; the legal recognition and registration of existing persons and settlements, access to secondary education and health care, statements in the press of their own position on specific problems, and representation before appropriate government or support institutions and international organizations (see, for example, Moqui 1982).

Critical social reproduction processes, then, may not only lie in the Harakmbut's hands, but become an essential component of the means by which 'surplus' transfers across different modes of production are, both, made to take place <u>and</u> resisted. Underlying the 'battle of ideas' enforced by the Dominicans emerges the Harakmbut's struggle for land and a meaningful existence.

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Chart 23

NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN FENAMAD AND THEIR
CURRENT POPULATION

1. Queros (110)
2. Santa Rosa de Huacaria (140)
3. Shintuya (140)
4. Diamante (140)
5. Puerto Luz (190)
6. San José del Karene (125)
7. Bajo Pukiri (30)
8. Barranco Chico (50)
9. Shiringayoc (60)
10. Villa Santiago (40)
11. Boca del Inambari (110)
12. El Pilar (80)
13. Puerto Arturo (100)
14. Infierno (120)
15. Palma Real (160)
16. Sonene (60)

Source: Centro Eori (1986)

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Key to Symbols

BSGL	Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima
JVF	Junta de Vías Fluviales, Perú
JLPB	Juicio de Límites entre El Perú y Bolivia
MDP	Misiones Dominicas del Perú

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