Marubo ethnogenesis and Panoan alterity

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One of the main puzzles that Panoanists like to think about and attempt to solve is the question of how Panoan societies have arrived at their current ethnic and territorial configurations. It is an especially interesting problem if we consider Donald Lathrap's (1970) argument that all Panoans were one people less than 2000 years ago. Today there are some twenty distinct Panoan groups, and we would like to understand how we got from the posited former unity to the observed current diversity; but we must do so having historical records for only a quarter of this time-depth. To understand how the hypothetical unity of the fourth century C.E. became the Panoan diversity we see today, it is necessary to understand how Panoan peoples have combined, separated, and recombined in historic processes of ethnosocial transformation. This paper examines one such process—the ethnogenesis of the contemporary Marubo—and the ways in which that historic process is related to Panoan concepts of identity and alterity. By placing the Marubo case in its broader Panoan context, I hope to shed light on the processes whereby Panoan groups come together and split apart in particular historical contexts, and thus to make a contribution towards thinking about the more general problem of Panoan ethnosocial transformations.

The Marubo are descendants of multiple Panoan groups who survived the violent depopulation of the rubber boom in the Javari River basin. Oral histories indicate that these groups spoke three different languages, lived in widely separated areas of the Javari basin, and considered themselves to be different peoples. During decades of relative isolation after the rubber boom, these peoples intermarried, adopted a single language, and effectively fused into one ethnic group with a common ritual complex involving feasts, ceremonial dialogues, shamanism and healing practices as well as a common kinship system. Just as a process of multiethnic fusion is at the origin of the contemporary Marubo, Marubo ethnicity today remains conceptually open to the incorporation of other groups, as evidenced by the recent absorption of a number of Panoan Kulina, statements by Marubo informants that they would not object to absorbing the Matis, and efforts to establish links with the Kapanawa of Peru. This openness to the absorption of the other is a Panoan cultural tendency well discussed by previous scholars, particularly Philippe Erikson (1993, 1996), and it is a key to understanding processes of fission and fusion among Panoan groups.

Panoan societies have engaged in various forms of absorption of the other throughout the period of time for which we have historical records (both written and oral). These absorptions of alterity range from the large-scale fusion of the Ucayali Panoans—Konibo, Shetebo, and Shipibo—into one ethnolinguistic group, through the wife-capturing raids of the Matses, to the fission-fusion processes of the Purús Panoans and the symbolic incorporations of alterity described by Erikson for the Matis. The generalized pattern of Panoan openness to the absorption of alterity very likely contributed to the success of Marubo ethnogenesis by predisposing the proto-Marubo groups to commensality. In turn, the particular form of that ethnogenesis contributed to the intensification and transformation of the Panoan pattern in its particular Marubo

configuration, for the Marubo case presents certain unique characteristics, particularly the extent to which agency seems to have been involved in the process of interethnic fusion. The contemporary Marubo have a recognizably Panoan yet specifically Marubo attitude towards the incorporation of both indigenous and nonindigenous people into their social system, while their social organization, ritual practices, and mythology bear evident traces of their Panoan past and traumatic origin. This paper examines the connections between Marubo ethnogenesis and concepts of alterity to elucidate the Marubo present and past but also, by comparing the Marubo to other well-known Panoan cases, to shed light on broader patterns of transformation in Panoan societies.

Marubo ethnogenesis

The basic outlines of Marubo ethnogenesis were first worked out by Julio Cezar Melatti (1977, 1986). One of the facts that struck Melatti (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:3, Melatti 1977:92) following his initial fieldwork with the Marubo was that they lacked an autonym. The term "Marubo" was an exogenous term that was applied by the region's nonindigenous inhabitants to a number of different indigenous peoples in the Javari basin and adjacent areas, including the neighboring Matses. In and of itself, the fact that the Marubo had an exogenous ethnonym was not unusual, particularly among Panoans. It is common knowledge that "Kaxinawa" is an insulting exogenous term, and the people known by that term refer to themselves as Huni Kuin (Deshayes and Keifenheim 1994:31); the same is true for the Kashibo, who refer to themselves as Uni (Wistrand de Robinson 1977). But the complete absence of an ethnonym is unusual. While the Marubo referred to themselves as *yura*, Melatti (1975:3) noted that this term does not connote only the Marubo, but rather all indigenous peoples; he could find no term that referred only to the people he was working with.

When asking what the Marubo called themselves, Melatti encountered a series of what he called "denominations" (1977:92), which on first impression were quite bewildering. It was only upon his return from the field, when he analyzed his census data, that Melatti realized these denominations fit together into matrilineal units and were analogous to Kariera-type marriage sections. Melatti (1977) thus called these denominations "sections," and the larger units formed by two linked sections he called "matrilineal units." To understand how these sections were linked to one another required serious detective work, because some sections that are distinct from one another have the same name, while in other cases several different names may be applied to the same section. For example, the term *Inonawavo* was used to refer to three different sections, but one of these sections was known not only as *Inonawavo* but also, alternatively, as *Koronawavo* and *Kamãnawavo*. Despite these complications, through a careful analysis of replies to his genealogical inquiries, Melatti was able to work out that there were eighteen sections arranged into nine matrilineal units, and that each unit was strictly exogamous. He also found that although there were eighteen extant sections, informants referred to a number of sections that had gone extinct. Inquiries into oral history suggested that intense violence associated with the rubber boom had led to these section extinctions.

When asked the name of their people, Marubo always replied by referring to their section name. These sections, therefore, appeared to be the primary vehicles of self-

identity for the people known to outsiders as Marubo. During my fieldwork, twenty years after Melatti's, I found that this was still the case for older Marubo; however, younger Marubo were identifying themselves both by their section name and, more broadly, as Marubo. My genealogical and census data also confirmed Melatti's initial analysis of the Marubo kinship structure. But although younger Marubo were recognizing and naming the larger entity consisting of all nine matrilineal units, as their elders had not, both elders and youths continued to refer to the sections as "tribes" (Melatti 1986:16). In addition, some Marubo referred to the sections as "nations" (*nações*).[1]

Marubo descent is matrilineal.[2] Within each matrilineal unit, the denomination alternates each generation. Thus, the children of a Shanenawavo woman are Iskonawavo, and the children of an Iskonawavo woman are Shanenawavo. As Melatti (1977:93) noted, "each Marubo … is classified always under the same denomination of their maternal grandmother." But while each alternating-generation section has a name, the Marubo do not name the larger matrilineal units consisting of two sections. They recognize the link between sections by referring to them as *kokavo*, which means "mother's brothers" or "sister's sons" (the term *koka* is reciprocal and thus refers to either MB or ZS). However, despite the fact that sections forming part of a single matrilineal unit clearly cannot exist apart from one another, Melatti noted that the Marubo considered them to have an independent existence. This proved even more puzzling as Melatti delved into Marubo oral history and mythology, for the Marubo creation myth assigned to each section an individual mythic origin quite distinct from that of its *kokavo*, while oral histories describe each section's history in a way that does not necessarily link it to its *kokavo*.

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During his investigations into Marubo oral history, Melatti (1977:93) found that "more than one indigenous informant seemed to admit that they were the result of the reunion of remainders of various tribal groups." He had previously published a study of Marubo history based on interviews with both Marubo and nonindigenous regional inhabitants (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:6–33), and subsequently published an outline of Javari Basin ethnohistory (Melatti 1981:13–34). However, it was not until 1986 that he published further details concerning Marubo ethnogenesis. The occasion was his analysis of the Marubo origin myth (Melatti 1986). He reiterated "that in the past the Marubo sections could have constituted more than one indigenous society, by the constitution of three or more distinct agglomerations in different places in the region" (1986:6). Drawing on oral histories gathered during several fieldwork episodes between 1974 and 1983, as well as on information obtained by Delvair Montagner (see Montagner Melatti 1985), Melatti (1986:33) identified the ancient geographic locations of the sections and correlated this information with the descriptions of their mythic origins.

In the Marubo origin myth, called *Wenía*, the original members of each section emerge through holes in the ground, a metaphor for birth (Melatti 1986:27). Wenía repeats a formula for the emergence of each section. The members of a section are underground when some sort of event stimulates them to begin wailing. The stimulant event varies from section to section; but it is almost always the falling of a natural object

on the ground, such as a flower, bird feathers, a root thrown down by a macaw, or the defecation of an oropendola. Whatever the stimulant event, the members of the section begin moaning and climb a tapir-bone ladder to emerge through a hole in the ground. The male leader emerges first, and his decorations are always described in the myth; in some cases, a female leader is also named and described (Melatti 1986:6–27).

In the most complete version he gathered, Melatti noted a certain resonance between the mythic origins of the sections and their relationships according to oral history. Melatti (1977:106) stated that his informants agreed on placing the Shanenáwavo, Varináwavo, and their respective *kokavo* on the Ituí River "prior to first contact" with nonindigenous peoples. Likewise, his informants stated that the Wanĩvo, Kamãnáwavo, Inonáwavo, and Kananáwavo lived on the Javari River. The Nináwavo, Shainãwavo, and Yenenáwavo lived on the igarapé Santa Clara, an affluent of the Curuçá just north of the Amburus River. Concerning the other sections, he stated that they "probably" inhabited the area between the Arrojo River and the igarapé Maronal (affluents of the Curuçá on the side of the Ituí) though he did not have definitive information on these. In analyzing the origin myth, he noted that in the most complete version he obtained, the sections that were said to have lived close to one another in the past are also said to have emerged from the ground in close sequence. In this version, the Varináwavo emerge first, followed by the Shanenáwavo, in a first cluster of emerged peoples. The second cluster consists of Rovonáwavo, Txonavo, and Satanáwavo, while a third cluster consists of Inonáwavo, Kananáwavo, and Wanĩvo; finally, the Shawãvo emerge (Melatti 1986:15–22). These clusters of emergent sections are roughly comparable to the geographic clusters described in oral histories.

The Nináwavo, Shainãwavo, and Yenenáwavo, who were said to have lived together on the Santa Clara, had a unique mythic origin. The Nináwavo emerged much as did the others, through a hole in the ground. Their leader was named Wasa. Wasa made a swidden and spread the flowers of a tree on the ground. Afterward, he blew a great breath on the flowers, and the Shainãwavo emerged from the flowers. Then the Yenenáwavo are said to have emerged from the ground (Melatti 1986:28).

Melatti concluded that "the myth would come to confirm the supposition, to which we already referred, that in a certain moment of the past, perhaps immediately prior to the arrival of the first nonindigenous people, the Marubo sections were distributed into clusters, it being possible that marriage exchanges were made preferentially among members of a cluster" (Melatti 1986:31). Basing himself on his oral-historical data, supported by his analysis of myth, Melatti published a rough map of the precontact locations of the sections that would eventually become the Marubo (see figure 1). This was a satisfactory explanation for the mysterious datum that Melatti had noted from the beginning of his fieldwork, namely, the lack of an autonym and the fact that Marubo seemed to take their primary group identity from their section. If the Marubo were, in fact, the result of the union of multiple different groups during and after the rubber boom, the primary identity of any given Marubo would still be their group (or section) of origin. An overarching identity as a single ethnic group had yet to emerge.

During my fieldwork in 1997–1998, the Marubo were taking a strong interest in oral history because the Javari Basin was undergoing the process of formal demarcation as indigenous land. The politically active young Marubo who were following the process and pressuring the authorities to complete it wanted as much evidence as possible

concerning long-term, traditional indigenous occupation of the Javari Basin and asked me to help produce written documentation of the history of Marubo presence in the Javari. Thus, I attended several events at which elders recounted oral histories of the times before, during, and after the rubber boom. I recorded some of these histories and worked with informants to clarify the histories and place them in some sort of chronological order. While the result is far from definitive, it goes some way towards confirming Melatti's original hypotheses and interpretations, while adding further depth and detail to his initial work. The results of this research have been presented in detail in Ruedas (2001:709–741), and summarized in Ruedas (2004:30–34). However, in Ruedas (2001) my objective was to trace changes through time in the Marubo kinship system, while in Ruedas (2004) it was to trace changes in the Marubo political system. Here I will summarize some of the data on Marubo history with a view to understanding their ethnogenesis and its effect on Marubo attitudes towards alterity. I also plan to integrate my own research with Melatti's published work on the topic to a greater extent than in my previous publications.

Melatti (1981) divided Javari Basin ethnohistory into five phases. These are the phase of Jesuit presence, 1638–1769; the commercial fishing-collecting period, 1769–1870; the rubber boom, 1870–1911; the decadence of the rubber trade, 1911–1945; and the logging period, 1945–1981. To these I added a sixth period, the period of indigenous political organization beginning in 1991 (Ruedas 2001:13). In Marubo oral histories, the watershed event that structures most narratives is the rubber boom.

The rubber boom began roughly in 1850 as the demand for rubber in industrialized countries rose dramatically following the discovery of the vulcanization process in 1839 (Collier 1968; Weinstein 1983; Taussig 1987). In the Javari basin, the earliest exploitation of rubber was not by Brazilians but rather by Peruvians. Peruvians reached the Javari by overland routes from the Tapiche, a right-bank affluent of the Ucayali (Coutinho 1993:229), beginning after 1870. Over the next 20 years, Peruvian rubber traders opened and maintained a series of well-traveled land routes linking the Javari to the Ucayali and Marañón rivers. By 1897, a Brazilian border demarcation commission estimated that there were 5000 Peruvians living in the headwaters of the Javari and the nearby Ipixuna, with the majority being indigenous speakers of Quechua (Coutinho 1993:232). According to the head of the demarcation commission, Cunha Gomes, the workers who gathered the rubber from *Castilloa* and *Hevea* trees were all indigenous Peruvians, with only the bosses and trading-house agents speaking Spanish. Although most of these rubber workers were Quechua speakers, there are also reports that 400 Campa lived and worked on the Jaquirana (Coutinho 1993:230) and 80 Remo came to work on the Batã (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:15), though these latter were quickly reduced to 30 by an epidemic. While the Peruvians began by exploiting the Javari and its affluents on both sides, they were also present on both banks of the Curuçá (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:9–10), and the Ituí was under the control of a Colombian boss as late as 1920 (Coutinho 1993:235). The entry of Peruvians in search of rubber was the first large-scale entry of nonindigenous peoples into the Javari Basin (although many of these "nonindigenous people" were indigenous peoples, though not native to the Javari).

Brazilian presence in the Javari Basin was also propelled by the search for rubber. Brazilian rubber workers were largely Brazilians of African descent who migrated from

the Nordeste after major droughts in the 1870s and 1880s. They worked rubber further and further up the Juruá River, so that the upper reaches of the Juruá, and especially the Ipixuna (only a two-day walk from the upper Javari and Ituí) were not well populated by Brazilians until the late 1880s (Coutinho 1993:231). The initial Brazilian entry into the Javari was from the Juruá and Jutaí overland to the headwaters of the Javari, Curuçá, and Ituí. However, by the late 1890s a substantial mixed population of Peruvians and Brazilians—the latter mostly of nordestino origin—lived and worked along the lower Javari, Itaquaí, and Ituí (Coutinho 1993:232–233).[3]

In 1888, the Belém-based F.M. Marques & Co. gained exclusive legal rights to all the rubber in the Javari Basin (Weinstein 1983:173). Since the rubber belonged to them, they paid rubber workers for their labor and not their product. However, Peruvian rubber workers tended to keep their rubber and sell it at a higher price to Peruvian trading houses that sent representatives to the Peruvian side of the Javari and Jaquirana (Coutinho 1993:233). In 1899, F.M. Marques & Co. sold their license to the French *Compagnie Transatlantique de Caoutchouc* (Weinstein 1983:178–180; Coutinho 1993:235). While the new owners, in theory, owned all the rubber in the Javari basin, in practice they were not able to control labor and had to pay for the rubber. Numerous smaller bosses arose throughout the Javari Basin, each controlling a specific area and a hierarchy of sub-bosses and workers. In addition, rubber-working posts—pieces of land called *seringais* (sg. *seringal*), often referred to in English as "estates"—were bought and sold without much regard for the supposed French owners (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:15–17). Despite the shifting ownership and labor arrangements, throughout the rubber boom production increased in the Javari basin, from 725 tons in 1893 to 1032 tons in 1898, before peaking at 1451 tons in 1910 (Coutinho 1993:228). These figures exclude rubber smuggled across the border to the Peruvian trading houses in Iquitos.

The Amazonian rubber boom ended with the collapse of world rubber prices following the first successful harvests of commercially planted rubber in the British colonies of Southeast Asia (Collier 1968; Weinstein 1983). This collapse took place in 1911. The nonnative population of the Javari basin decreased dramatically, particularly the indigenous Peruvian rubber workers. Although many Brazilians remained in the area, they no longer worked in the interior of the Javari, finding work instead in towns such as Benjamin Constant. However, rubber production did not disappear entirely, as 386 tons were produced in 1922 (Coutinho 1993:228). Rubber bosses and their workers remained on the Javari, Curuçá, and Ituí Rivers throughout the 1920s (Coutinho 1993:234), 1930s (Coutinho 1993:255), and into the early 1950s (Coutinho 1993:258–259). A second collapse in rubber prices related to the Great Depression brought about a further depopulation, affecting particularly the upper reaches of the Javari basin's rivers (Coutinho 1993:235, 255). The businessmen who controlled these areas began diversifying into logging by 1921 (Coutinho 1993:254). After one last increase during the Second World War, rubber prices became permanently depressed and logging became the primary extractive industry of the Javari basin (Melatti 1981). Unlike the rubber trade, logging did not require permanent habitation of the basin's interior, and the nonindigenous population became very small from the 1950s forward. The decrease in nonindigenous presence in the Javari coincided with a strong expansion of the Matses into the area between the Javari and Curuçá rivers between 1930 and the mid-1960s,

which resulted in numerous conflicts between Matses and nonidigenous settlers and merchants (Coutinho 1993:256–264; Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:16–17).

The rubber boom and its aftermath is the historical context of Marubo ethnogenesis. In one generation—between 1870 and 1900—the Javari basin went from being inhabited only by its native peoples to having a nonnative population in the thousands. Relations between natives and nonnatives ranged across the spectrum from violence to cooperation and marriage. Some of this had to do with the different species of rubber tree available for exploitation. The Panama rubber tree (*Castilloa elastica*) is cut down to gather its latex. Exploitation of Panama rubber thus took the form of roving bands of tree-cutters who rarely, if ever, had any need for native labor and did not establish permanent residence in the areas they exploited. In contrast, the Pará rubber tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) is exploited by cutting incisions on the surface, and can be harvested regularly for years. Thus, the exploitation of Pará rubber could, and often did, involve native labor and long-term nonnative settlement (Romanoff 1984:27–30; Coutinho 1993:214–217). Thus, in some cases native villages were subjected to extermination attacks, and in other cases they were subjected to slave raids. There were also numerous other forms of violent encounters on lesser scales. However, Javari Basin natives did enter the rubber trade as both workers and low-level crew bosses, and outsiders often married native women, resulting in children who were kin to both natives and nonnatives.

Marubo oral histories include information on the location of contemporary and extinct matrilineal units prior to the rubber boom, as well as specific stories of violence and migration. The overarching themes are demographic and geographic reduction. The groups that would come to form the contemporary Marubo were spread out from the Javari to the Ituí, but eventually were reduced to a small area in the uplands between the Curuçá and Ituí, near the headwaters of the Arrojo and Maronal. An examination of Melatti's genealogical data suggests that this population numbered less than fifty around the year 1920, and the oral histories indicate a dramatic depopulation. A leader of the Wanĩvo section, João Tuxaua, is credited with seeking out survivors throughout the Javari basin and bringing them together in the Arrojo-Maronal headwaters area over a period of several decades. I present here a summary of Marubo rubber boom oral histories, described in more detail in Ruedas (2001:709–741).

The Inonáwavo are known as the *wakaivovo* ("river-owners") of the Javari. I was told that they lived on the Javari (*Roene*) and Pardo (*Tashaya*) rivers. These Inonáwavo may be identified as the *kokavo* of the Kananáwavo, matrilineal unit I in Melatti's categorization. The Marubo also state that the Wanĩvo, Kamãnáwavo, and Koronáwavo lived on the Javari and Pardo. Kamãnáwavo and Koronáwavo are in fact a single section and are the *kokavo* of the Wanĩvo, together forming matrilineal unit H. Units H and I traditionally engaged in matrimonial exchange following the Kariera-type logic where one section preferentially marries another. The Inonáwavo married Wanĩvo while the Koronáwavo married Wanĩvo.[4] Although Melatti situated this group of people on the Javari, my data indicate that they also inhabited the Pardo and that some of the survivors who went to live at the Arrojo-Maronal headwaters came from the Pardo rather than the Javari. Nevertheless, the oral histories portray a thriving social formation inhabiting a large area stretching from the Pardo to the Javari connected by well-traveled land routes, with a functioning four-section Kariera-type marriage exchange system. Furthermore,

the Inonáwavo—by which we may understand the entire four-section formation—are said to have spoken a distinct language that is different from contemporary Marubo.

The story that I was told concerning this social formation involves a total ethnocide. I was told that there was a village of Inonáwavo and Wanĩvo on the Pardo, with two leaders named Vari and Wanĩnato. The men of this village were out hunting one day and returned to find Peruvians in their village seizing the women and children. They engaged in battle but although several Peruvians were killed the men were almost completely exterminated. The sole survivor of this event was a man named Mani, with the Portuguese name of Júlio. João Tuxáua located Júlio and invited him to the Arrojo-Maronal area, where eventually Júlio became a longhouse owner.

Analysis of available genealogical and census data indicates that there were, in fact, very few survivors of this social formation in the immediate aftermath of the rubber boom. These data indicate that only two Kananáwavo women survived the rubber boom (both said to be from the Wasiwaya, an affluent of the Javari). These women had predominantly male children, and the last female born in this matrilineal unit seems to have died without having children. My census revealed only four surviving members of the unit, and given the rule of matrilineal descent, it was producing no more members. The data also indicate that only two women of the Wanĩvo/Koronáwavo unit survived the rubber boom. However, these were more fortunate in having female children, so that by 1998 there were 149 members of this group. Nevertheless, it is a telling fact about the demographic impact of the rubber boom that only four women of these two matrilineal units survived, along with several men (Júlio and João Tuxaua among them).

Although the story as it was told to me provides no information on the nature of relations between Júlio's village and the attacking Peruvians, oral histories gathered twenty years earlier by Montagner Melatti and Melatti (1975:23–24) provide a more nuanced perspective and also permit a rough dating of the event, which seems to have occurred well after the end of the rubber boom. In line with the accounts I heard of members of the Inonáwavo formation regularly moving back and forth between the Pardo and Javari, Melatti recorded that Júlio's father moved around quite a bit in the years after the rubber boom. Between 1902 and 1929, a Brazilian named Raimundo Luzeiro operated a rubber business from a *seringal* on the Batã, one of the affluents of the upper Javari. Júlio's father and his family lived for a time near the Luzeiro *seringal*, before moving back to the Curuçá watershed. Back on the Curuçá, he accepted merchandise from the big boss of the Curuçá and Ituí, Afonso Alvim, and he began to organize crews to work for Alvim. Alvim's boats would drop off merchandise and then return for the rubber. As the story was told to Melatti, Júlio's father was a successful organizer of labor who had a number of people working under him, including Brazilians and Peruvians. He produced so much rubber that Alvim's boats were often overloaded when they left after picking up his produce.

When the upper courses of the Javari basin's rivers were depopulated following the second drop in rubber prices around 1930, Afonso Alvim took advantage to establish control over most of the *seringais* on the Curuçá and Ituí (Coutinho 1993:255), a dominant position that he maintained until his death in 1938. After Alvim's death, the business was taken over by Alvim's former manager on the Ituí River, João Barbosa. If Alvim's period of ascendancy in the Curuçá rubber trade was 1930–1938, then Júlio's

father was working for Alvim at the time, and the killing of Júlio's family on the Pardo must also have taken place during this decade.

During the period of dominance of Casa Alvim in the Javari, a man apparently named José Vadick was Alvim's main agent and sub-boss at the mouth of the Amburus. Vadick is commonly referred to as "Inglês" in the oral histories even though he was half Afro-Brazilian. Further downstream, at the mouth of the Arrojo, was a man named, Zé Castro who was Inglês' boss, and dealt directly with a merchant who, in turn, worked for Alvim (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:17–18). There were complex relations between Júlio's family and Inglês. Inglês son, "Dico" Vadick, when interviewed by the Melattis, stated that there were eight Marubo longhouses within walking distance of Inglês' house on the Amburus, where Dico grew up, so Júlio's was only one of several families to have commercial relations with Inglês and Alvim.

Many oral histories present Inglês as a man prone to violence and involving his indigenous allies in violence. A Peruvian man named Heliodoro Vargas established a *seringal* in the area, promised the Marubo merchandise and obtained a Marubo wife. However, he failed to deliver on the merchandise and was eventually killed. Some informants told the Melattis that it was Inglês who had ordered the killing, though Dico Vadick stated that it was three Marubo who had killed Vargas (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:23). These Marubo then fled for a time to Luzeiro's post on the Batã. However, the two stories are not necessarily incompatible: the Marubo may have worked in Inglês' system and had permission, or even instigation, from Inglês to kill Vargas. Vargas would have represented unwanted competition and Inglês may have seen an opportunity in the conflict between the Marubo and Vargas over the woman and the merchandise. According to the Melattis, Júlio claimed that it was Inglês who killed his father (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:24). However, there was another complicating factor: by this time, the Matses were expanding into the area between the Javari and Curuçá and some of them had apparently begun working for Inglês.[5] In 1933, the Marubo killed some of Inglês' Matses workers and took their women, and subsequently fled out of fear of retaliation, presumably both from Inglês and from the Matses. The Marubo never worked for Inglês again, and for several decades Marubo trading was limited and was conducted overland to the Ipixuna. Although Júlio states that Inglês killed his family, Melatti states that other informants claimed Júlio's father had been killed by other indigenous peoples. Again, perhaps there is no contradiction; it is possible that Inglês worked with the angry Matses to retaliate against Júlio's family. Both these stories are slightly different from the one I heard, which blames Peruvians for the Pardo River attack.[6] Whoever may have been responsible, there is little question from the genealogical data that the Inonáwavo social formation of the Pardo and Javari was decimated and reduced to about a dozen people. Furthermore, correlation with the research done by the Melattis and Coutinho places the date of Júlio's fleeing to the Arrojo-Maronal headwaters at 1933.

João Tuxaua was a member of the Wanĩvo section, the *kokavo* of the Inonáwavo discussed above, although his family does not seem to have been intermarried with the Inonáwavo/Kananáwavo unit. A census taken in 1995 by workers of the Fundação Nacional de Saúde (FNS, National Health Foundation) assigns João Tuxaua a birth date of 1903. João Tuxaua's father was an important leader named Tomás, said to have been a Nináwavo man [which Nináwavo? further research required] with the Marubo name of

Tama. João Tuxaua's family is said to have lived between the Curuçá and Javari rivers. Tomás is said to have been one of the first people to approve of commercial relations with the incoming Peruvians during the rubber boom (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:22). However, with increasing violence between rubber workers and native peoples, Tomás decided to move his family to the headwaters of the Arrojo, near a small creek called the Yapãua, in an area that could not be reached by water and was very difficult of access. In one of the most frequently recounted events in Marubo oral history, Tomás is said to have chanted over a magical substance, which he then put into the waters of the rivers in the area. The magic substance had been imbued with the power to flush out the rubber workers as it made its way downstream. The Marubo credit Tomás' magic with the disappearance of the nonnative peoples from the Javari Basin. This event most likely reflects the first fall of rubber prices in 1911, with the associated sharp drop in nonnative population in the Javari Basin, though it may reflect the second drop in rubber demand that took place around 1930, when the nonnatives virtually disappeared from the upper reaches of the Javari basin's watercourses and the total nonnative population of the Javari basin dropped even further.

João Tuxaua is credited with traveling around the Javari Basin, locating all the remnants of the formerly extant *náwavo*, and inviting them to the headwaters of the Arrojo to join his family. It is from this concentration of peoples at the Arrojo headwaters that all today's Marubo are descended. As mentioned, the original "Marubo" population at the Arrojo was less than fifty in 1920, and this has expanded to over one thousand today.

According to the oral histories I recorded, a second social formation consisting of the Ninánawavo/Ranenánawavo and Satanánawavo/Rovonánawavo matrilineal units lived along a watercourse called Wasiwaya, identified by one informant as the igarapé Hospital. This is a social formation that was not identified by Melatti's informants. The leader of this group of people was named Chico Tuxaua, and was probably a Satanánawavo. He was married to Tomás' sister, a Ninánawavo woman, and had two adult children, Sai (Emílio) and Txano. Sai had married a Kananánawavo woman and had an Inonánawavo son named Ernesto. This was at the time when Tomás had approved commercial relations with a Peruvian rubber boss, Elói Tedjo. However, Chico fought with his commercial partners, and the Peruvians retaliated by attacking Chico's village and kidnapping several people, among them his grandson Ernesto and his pregnant wife, who gave birth in captivity to a son named Domingo. This is probably the event that triggered Tomás' migration to the Arrojo headwaters. Seven years later, Txano and Sai located their kidnapped kin and took them back, including Ernesto, Domingo, and Tomás' sister. Chico then led his family to the Yapãua along with Tomás. If the birth date attributed to Domingo by Melatti's informants (1879) is to be believed, the migration to the Yapãua took place in 1886. Even if Domingo's birth date was a little later, Tomás was probably established in the Arrojo headwaters by 1900.

Another group of Satanánawavo lived near the Amburus River. These people became involved in an internecine conflict with other Satanánawavo over women, and most of them were killed. A young man named Dionísio and his three sisters were orphaned, and João Tuxaua invited them to live at the Yapãua. Dionísio's sisters married Domingo, and I met several of their sons and daughters, who were intermarried with João Tuxaua's

sons. This event probably took place during the period of violence associated with the presence of Inglês around the Amburus in the 1930s.

According to the histories I was told, the Txonavo/Iskonáwavo unit was located traditionally on a watercourse called the Kapeya, or Igarapé Jacaré (Caiman Creek). I have not ascertained the exact location of this river, but the approximate location described to me matches Melatti's approximate placement of this matrilineal unit. I was told that the Peruvians exterminated an entire village on the Kapeya by offering them merchandise so they would gather in one spot, then shooting them. Only one man named Yoati survived to tell this story. The other inhabitants of the Kapeya area fled and joined João Tuxaua's family in the Arrojo headwaters.

A group of villages was located along the watercourse known today as the Igarapé Setiacho, or Kariya in Marubo. I was told that this area was inhabited by Ninawavo, Iskonáwavo, and a now-extinct section called Noĩkoavo. The history told of these people is that one day Peruvians came to the Setiacho with abundant merchandise, and invited the village's inhabitants to come to their boat to obtain more. Once on the boat, the indigenous peoples were attacked by surprise and bound by the hands and wrists. Included among the prisoners was a shaman named Tamani Romeya. At night, his wife sneaked on board and brought him a bottle of tobacco snuff; when he swallowed it he gained strength and was able to free himself and his nephew, Rane. A few days later, however, the Peruvians attacked the village and killed the remaining people. Rane had been out hunting with his wife and daughter, and so escaped although he witnessed the attack while hiding in the forest. He fled with his family south to the Satanáwavo who lived in the Amburus and Wasiwaya areas, and subsequently to the Yapãua. Later, Rane's daughter married João Tuxaua. Their son, when I met him in 1998, gave me a birth date of 1920. Thus, if the Kariya slave raid occurred around the time of his mother's birth, it can be estimated to have taken place around 1900.

The traditional homeland of the Shanenáwavo is said to be the watercourse called Shashoya, now called Igarapé São Salvador, on the right bank of the Curuçá downriver from the mouth of the Arrojo, at the place where FUNAI established its Marubo attraction post in the mid-1970s. According to the oral histories, a village in this area was assaulted by Peruvians, who ran off the men and kidnapped the women, taking them to what is today the riverine community of Palmari. The Shanenáwavo then vacated this area. However, informants tell me that very old Marubo-style ceramic pots can still be seen at Palmari, a reflection of the presence of the kidnapped women.[7]

The oral histories place the Shawãvo/Iskonáwavo and Ninawavo/Inonáwavo (or Ninawavo/Nomanáwavo) units along the watercourses entering the Curuçá just north of the Arrojo: the Wakanoaya and the Txunãwaya (Igarapé Barrigudo). These people are said to have been attacked and decimated, their remnants fleeing to the Arrojo headwaters to join the other proto-Marubo. These two matrilineal units are today the demographically smallest (excepting the dying Inonáwavo/Kananáwavo unit), reflecting the severe nature of their depopulation during and after the rubber boom.

The upper Ituí River, known in Marubo as Txeshe, is also called Variwaka (sun-river) because it is considered the traditional homeland of the Varinawavo and their *kokavo*, the Tamawavo. The Varinawavo/Tamawavo unit was involved in a Kariera-style exchange system with a now-extinct unit consisting of Variisávo and Iskonáwavo. Other extinct section names associated with the pre-rubber boom indigenous habitation of the

Ituí are Varikayõvo, Wanĩkeyapavo, and Atashenivo.[8] After the Shashoya kidnapping, the Shanenáwavo/Iskonáwavo moved to the upper Ituí and entered a marriage exchange system with the Varináwavo/Tamawavo. Some Shawãvo are also said to have lived on the Ituí. As the rubber workers spread along the Ituí, these peoples found themselves under increasing pressure. One specific story tells of a man named Iskotoke who snuck into a rubber worker's house and stole a suitcase full of merchandise, only to have his village attacked in retaliation. Eventually, these people abandoned the Ituí and joined the other proto-Marubo in the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters area.

The final location identified in Marubo oral histories is a watercourse called the Tekõya, tentatively identified as the Igarapé Cravo, which enters the Arrojo from the left side. This area was inhabited by the now-extinct Shainawavo/Yenenáwavo unit, and I was told that Rovonáwavo—and hence, presumably, Satanáwavo—also lived there. This place was considerably removed from the main course of the Curuçá, and this was the last grouping to leave their lands for the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters. According to my informants, some rubber workers made their way up the Arrojo, found the Shainawavo longhouse, killed the men and kidnapped the women, including the pregnant wife of a man named Ani. Ani's wife was turned over to Heliodóro Vargas, who had three Marubo women who, I was told, had all been kidnapped. Ani's son grew up with Vargas, was named Carlos Vargas, and spoke fluent Spanish. One day, I was told, Ani's kin avenged themselves by killing Heliodóro Vargas, and Carlos was brought back to the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters. The Shainawavo/Yenenáwavo people died out. However, the Marubo state that the language they now speak is the language of the Shainawavo and, as explained above, the Shainawavo have a distinct mythic origin.

It should be noted that the story of Heliodóro Vargas as told to the Melattis differed in one crucial respect from the story as told to me, for in the Melattis' version a woman was given to Vargas, while in the version told to me all of Vargas' Marubo women were kidnapped. In addition, in the story as told to me, Carlos Vargas was the biological son of a Marubo man, whereas in the version told to the Melattis, Carlos Vargas was the biological son of Heliodóro Vargas. In other respects, the stories concur, though the version told to me adds weight to Dico Vadick's assertion that it was not his father who killed Vargas but rather the Marubo themselves. The association of Carlos Vargas' birth with the attack and killing of the Shainawavo village allows us to date the event to 1924, since Carlos was still alive when I visited and gave me an age of 73 in 1997.

Although I was told that the survivors of the Shainawavo village were the last to arrive at the Maronal/Arrojo headwaters, this conflicts with my hypothetical placement of the arrival of Júlio in the 1930s. The dating of Júlio's arrival, however, is based on the fact that his father worked with Afonso Alvim, who was the dominant businessman in the Javari basin from 1930 on. However, Júlio might have worked with Alvim before Alvim's ascendance to domination of the Javari. At any rate, with a probable date of 1924 for the Shainawavo massacre, and a latest possible date of 1933 for Júlio's arrival at João Tuxaua's settlement, we are left with a small window for the final establishment of the ancestors of the Marubo in the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters. This population, from which the contemporary Marubo are descended, began to assemble in the 1890s and stopped receiving newcomers between 1924 and 1933. From that point, these people lived in isolation for several decades.

According to one of João Tuxaua's sons, Alfredo Barbosa, when he was growing up in the Maronal headwaters in the 1940s, there were five longhouses, led by João Tuxaua, Domingo, Ernesto, Júlio, and Dionisio. João Tuxaua was described to me as an extraordinary leader. He was a shaman, healer, and prophet. He was constantly singing myth-songs and teaching songs. He was an avid horticulturalist and hunter. He was reputed to be a werejaguar. He is credited with a number of discoveries of medicinal plant uses, made while in a state of possession trance. He had at least seven wives and well over 20 children. He entered a marriage exchange system with Domingo, such that many of his children married Domingo's children. Domingo had six wives and also had over 20 children. Thus, João Tuxaua was committed to cultural and demographic revitalization. His efforts, and those of the other rubber-boom survivors, bore fruit as the proto-Marubo population began expanding after many years of reduction.

Spurred by the lack of access to manufactured goods, some Marubo, led by Carlos Vargas, decided to reestablish commercial relations with nonindigenous peoples. I was told that some of the elders disagreed with this, but for others the need to obtain new supplies of metal tools took precedence. Some Marubo began carrying rubber on their backs by overland routes to a *seringal* called Boa Fe on the Ipixuna. Word of this spread to the missionaries of the New Tribes Missions, who sought out and located the Marubo longhouses in 1952 (Montagner Melatti and Melatti 1975:25).

While the Marubo remained in relative isolation at the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters, major changes took place in the economic situation of the Javari Basin. Even as they were completing their withdrawal from the main courses of the rivers in the 1930s, the rubber trade was ceasing to be economically viable. By the time João Barbosa took over from Afonso Alvim around 1940, businessmen were beginning to focus on logging and were supplementing logging and rubber-gathering with the trade in animal skins (Coutinho 1993:255–256). As a result, the need for permanent settlement in the interior of the Javari basin was diminished.

During these decades (1930–1960), the Matses were in ascendance in the area between the Javari and Curuçá during these decades. Numerous violent conflicts between Matses and nonindigenous peoples occurred (Coutinho 1993:256–264). Furthermore, some Marubo had already fought with Matses in the 1930s. In 1964, Carlos Vargas and some members of his family went down the Curuçá River to gather turtle eggs. Near the mouth of the Setiacho, they encountered a group of Matses. According to the Marubo, Carlos invited them to eat, but while they were eating together, the Matses suddenly attacked, causing the group of Marubo to disperse. One young man was killed, and several of Carlos' daughters were taken by the Matses. The Marubo obtained weapons at Boa Fe, then planned and executed an attack on the Matses village in the area of the Pardo River. During this raid, numerous Matses were killed—fourteen according to the Melattis (1975:26). At the same time, the New Tribes Missionaries established a permanent presence on the Ituí River. Thus, in the mid-1960s, a number of Marubo moved to the Ituí River to settle near the mission. Interestingly, many of these were members of the former Inonáwavo formation, who thus completed a transition from their original homeland on the Javari and Pardo to the opposite end of Marubo land.

With the increase in frequency and intensity of conflict between the Matses and nonindigenous peoples throughout the 1960s, pressure was put on the Brazilian government to "pacify" the Matses. This led to the arrival of FUNAI contact teams in the

Javari Basin in the early 1970s. After succeeding in establishing peace with the Matses, FUNAI established posts on the Ituí and Curuçá. Some of the Marubo who were still in the headwaters of the Arrojo (and some others who had moved to the far upper Curuçá to trade with Boa Fe) moved to the Igarapé São Salvador FUNAI post, while another group of Marubo moved from the upper Ituí to the FUNAI post on the middle Ituí. Finally, led by João Tuxaua's son Alfredo, the remaining Marubo came out of the Maronal headwaters to settle near the mouth of the Maronal on the Curuçá in the late 1980s. By this time, the exogenous term "Marubo" had become firmly tied to this particular group of people—the nine matrilineal units that survived the rubber boom and lived in the Arrojo/Maronal headwaters during the middle of the twentieth century. However, well into the 1980s, no Marubo identified themselves as such; rather, they still identified themselves by their section names. It was only in the 1990s that some younger Marubo began to add a "Marubo" identity to their descent-group identity.

The extraordinary story of Marubo ethnogenesis leaves many questions still to be answered, and not only in terms of the identification of times, places, and peoples. A most fascinating question that is yet to be answered is the working of agency in the fusion of the multiple ancestral groups. What conversations did the proto-Marubo elders have concerning the shape of their future social system? We know that not only do all Panoans not have "genuine" Kariera-style social organization, but in fact only two groups have alternating-generation systems: the Kashinawa and the Marubo. Elsewhere, this possibility is reflected in the kinship terminology but not in the descent group system. Did all ancestral Marubo groups have alternating generation systems? If not, how were the diverse groups organized into linked matrilineal units? Is it possible that some unilineal groups were not divided into two and somehow fused with other groups to form alternating-generation units? Were they all matrilineal, and if not why did they all decide to be matrilineal instead of patrilineal? Other fascinating questions abound: how is it that if these were separate peoples, there is now a single Marubo origin myth? How did a common ritual system involving feasting, healing, and ceremonial dialogues emerge? There is no question in my mind that many of the changes that took place during the fusion of groups in Marubo ethnogenesis were consciously made changes, and that even the social structure was consciously and purposefully negotiated and "designed," and this social structure is not the result of some random unconscious process. But such questions will require another field researcher's attention, and cannot be answered here. Here I will limit myself to considering what Marubo ethnogenesis implies about Marubo concepts of alterity, how these concepts relate to other Panoan ideas about the other, and what the implications are for considering Panoan histories in general.

Marubo alterity in the Panoan continuum

Philippe Erikson (1996) noted a paradox in the Panoan language family: a tendency towards ethnic fragmentation and atomization goes hand in hand with a strong will to identify with and absorb members of other cultures, usually other Panoans. The atomization results from a propensity, even in very small social groups, to have a proliferation of named subgroups. Erikson (1996:46) cites, for example, the case of the Marubo, who have eighteen named subgroups, some with multiple synonyms, all of them considered separate "peoples." In addition to the tendency to name subgroups, the

history of contact with nonindigenous peoples has caused territorial losses, geographic dislocations, and demographic disasters, reducing Panoan territories and populations and breaking up confederations and social continua. The tendency towards fragmentation, however, is counterbalanced by the very generalized Panoan urge to interact and join with other Panoans: "among all Panoans, the assimilation of the exterior is perceived as a *sine qua non* condition for social reproduction" (Erikson 1996:78). To understand Panoan processes of ethnic fission and fusion, we must consider what relative weight to give to each of these Panoan tendencies and what significance each has had in the development of the current Panoan condition.

Erikson has noted that the apparently extreme fragmentation of the Panoan language family is partly illusory. The *Handbook of South American Indians* listed 82 Panoan languages, but subsequent research has demonstrated that many of these are not distinct languages, nor do the supposed ethnonyms refer to distinct ethnic groups. "The apparent extreme fragmentation [of the Panoan family] is largely a result of the illusion produced by the complex mechanisms of identification in the western Amazon, and no doubt in lowland South America in general" (Erikson 1996:38). Erikson notes (1996:46) that Panoan peoples tend to elaborate intra-ethnic differences to an extraordinary degree, and outside observers have tended to confuse intra-ethnic distinctions for ethnic distinctions. On the other hand, Panoans tend to minimize inter-ethnic differences (at least within the Panoan continuum). Thus, in situations where an anthropologist might perceive ethnic unity, Panoans often state that they are "different," while in situations where an anthropologist might perceive ethnic difference, Panoans often state that they are the same. This has led to considerable discussion over where to mark "ethnic" differences in the Panoan language family, and a long-term trend in Panoan studies to reduce the number of Panoan groups that are considered, for lack of a better phrase, "really distinct ethnic groups."

In addition to the much-discussed proliferation of ethnonyms in the Panoan family, another reason why Panoans are perceived as tending towards atomization is the example of the Kashinawa. Of this famous Panoan group, Erikson (1996:43) notes: "In the eyes of many [scholars], they represent the paradigm of a typical Panoan society, no doubt because dualism functions there still, whereas elsewhere it survives only in a residual state." Indeed, the Kashinawa are unique among Panoans in having a precisely Kariera-type kinship system, with two moieties, each divided into two marriage sections according to the principle of alternating generations. The kinship terminology correlates with this structure of kinship, as kinship term use depends largely on relative section membership. The sections are strictly exogamous, with prescriptive marriage into a corresponding section in the other moiety, and the section exogamy goes along with a near-total "ethnic" endogamy, where Kashinawa rarely marry anyone outside of the four sections. The Kashinawa, unlike many other Panoan groups, did not fragment during the rubber boom, nor did they fuse with other Panoans, nor did they, as some Panoans did, both fragment and fuse. Their kinship system, with its correlated endogamy, appears to generate a solid social boundary.

Although no other Panoan group has a completely perfect Kariera-type kinship system, all Panoans have traces of the Kariera type in their kinship terminologies and social structures. Particularly telling is the alternation of generations in kinship terminology. Since membership in Kariera marriage sections alternates generationally,

so that if I am section A, my son is section B, and my son's son is again section A, kinship terminology also alternates generationally. A man will refer to his parallel cousins (members of his section) as "brother," but will also refer to his grandchildren as "little brothers," since they are also in his section. Thus, use of kinship terms recurs in alternating generations. This feature, or traces of it, is found to varying degrees among all known Panoan societies. The principle of alternating generations in kinship terminology is found among the Marubo (Melatti 1977), Matses (Fields and Merrifield 1980), Sharanawa (Siskind 1973), Matis (Erikson 1996), Amawaka (Dole 1979), Kapanawa (Hornborg 1993), and of course the Kashinawa (Kensinger 1995). The case is weaker for the Shipibo (Morin 1998) and Kashibo (Wistrand de Robinson 1977), but these groups' kinship terms are cognates of the other Panoans', confirming a recent past unity. The obvious interpretation, as Erikson and Kensinger have noted, is that proto-Panoan kinship was Kariera type kinship, and all other Panoans have lost the perfection maintained only by the Kashinawa, retaining only residual elements of the system. Since the Kashinawa are the paradigmatic Panoan society, the sole remaining exemplar of proto-Panoan kinship, and since the Kashinawa tend towards endogamy, by extension all Panoans tend towards endogamy and therefore to the creation of closed social boundaries. The historical vicissitudes of Western contacts exploded the ancient unity of the Panoans, generating an ethnic fragmentation intensified by these properties of Panoan kinship.

Concurrent with the notion of Panoan peoples as ideologically oriented towards endogamy and ethnic atomization is a clear picture of Panoans as obsessed with alterity. Panoans have complex systems for classifying and thinking about cultural otherness. Ethnographers have noted several cases where the incorporation of the other, whether physically or symbolically, is essential to the maintenance of the self (e.g., Townsley 1986, Erikson 1996). In other words, Panoans have cultural ideologies in which an essential part of cultural identity is, paradoxically, the systematic absorption of culturally different people, or of some symbolic equivalent thereof. The question is, if Panoans are atomized and endogamous, how is it possible for them also to be, to coin a somewhat whimsical term, preferentially exoculturophagous? How are we to reconcile these diametrically opposed views of Panoan peoples?

My argument is that we should consider the Kashinawa as the exception and not the rule. The Kashinawa are unique in the Panoan language family in having a kinship system that precisely matches the Kariera type as known from Australia, but this does not imply that other Panoan systems represent a deterioration from an original Kariera type. There is an alternative explanation for the Kashinawa system. Many Panoans appear to have some sort of exogamous social unit, frequently named with a denomination ending in some variation of "nawabo." In addition, most Panoans, with the exception of the Ucayali River Panoans, have a Dravidian type kinship system with varying levels of equivalency between alternating generations. But the usual condition is exogamy with preferential but not prescriptive alliance. That is, Panoan exogamous social units often develop preferential marriage exchange systems with other exogamous social units (Erikson calls this "Panoan dualism"), but that is all these alliances are—preferences, not exclusive prescriptions. Panoans generally like the security of an alliance to be accompanied by the flexibility of having other options. The Kashinawa would thus be the result of a very particular historical accident, unique in the Panoan continuum. These

are two exogamous groups who decided that, rather than making their alliance preferential, they would make it prescriptive, and who stuck to that decision and made it a part of their ethnic identity. But we cannot consider the Kashinawa representative of the Panoan family in this sense, since they are the only Panoan group to have made this decision and it contradicts the openness to alterity that is more commonly found among Panoans. The best explanation is that Panoan exogamous social units, when they intermarry exclusively for a few generations, generate a precise replica of the Kariera system. But shifting alliances and complex patterns of fission and fusion are the general Panoan condition, not strict prescriptive endogamy. Far from paradigmatically determining endogamous fragmentation, Panoan kinship favors openness to breaking and making new alliances. The breaking of an alliance is, of course, a fragmentation, but the making of a new alliance is an opening to alterity. This perspective allows us to reconcile those two seemingly opposed Panoan characteristics. To do so, we must reclassify the Kashinawa from "type Panoan society" to "unusual case." The Kashinawa case is a logical correlate of Panoan kinship terminologies and ideologies, but not the only one. Perhaps a Kariera-style kinship terminology is proto-Panoan, but not a formally Kariera-style social structure.

Because of the multiplicity of ethnonyms, the very real isolation of fragments of former Panoan social continua during the rubber boom, and the interpretation of the Kashinawa as paradigmatic Panoans, atomization has received more attention as a Panoan social process than fusion and absorption of alterity. However, diverse processes of interethnic fusion have played a major role in Panoan histories and must be given equal weight if we are to understand the processes whereby the current arrangement of Panoan groups has come about. Here, I will review some examples of Panoan fusions and absorptions of alterity in an effort to understand historical processes of Panoan ethnosocial transformation. I will place the Marubo case in its broader Panoan context, and search for the implications of the Marubo case for understanding Panoan histories. I will also briefly comment on the significance of Panoan ethnicity for general theories of ethnicity in anthropology.

Shipibo

The ethnolinguistic group today known as "Shipibo" results from the fusion of at least three (and probably more) distinct groups over the past two hundred years. In addition to fusing with one another, these component groups—the Shipibo, the Konibo, and the Shetebo—frequently raided other Panoan groups over the course of three hundred years, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century (Myers 1974, DeBoer 1986). During these raids, the Ucayali Panoans captured women and children and incorporated these into their culture, to the point where the ceramic productions of captured women were indistinguishable from those of "native-born" Ucayali Panoan women (DeBoer 1986). But the Ucayali Panoans have not been simply absorbers of others: there is also evidence that some of the groups of Panoans that live in the interfluvial areas are recent offshoots of the Ucayali Panoans (Fleck, this volume). The boundaries among Ucayali Panoans and between these riverine Panoans and the interfluvial Panoans surrounding them have thus been highly fluid and it is best to think of all these groups as part of a single fluid continuum in which the Ucayali both consumes and produces interfluvial

groups. Ethnicity in this subzone of the Panoan continuum is highly instrumentalist and not at all primordialist.

Although the initial European contacts with Ucayali Panoans seem to date from the sixteenth century, the first records of recognizable Ucayali Panoan ethnonyms date from the seventeenth century (Myers 1974). At this time, a confluence of factors led to an alteration in the geopolitical arrangement of the Ucayali. Jesuit missionaries were busy establishing the Mainas missions on the Marañón, and pushed south into the Ucayali, while Franciscans moved north and east from the Peruvian highlands into the upper and middle Ucayali. The Cocama controlled the middle Ucayali, but when contacted by the Jesuits they suffered ruinous epidemics that decimated their population. This allowed the Panoans to dominate the Ucayali, a condition that would persist until the large-scale mestizo settlement of the mid-twentieth century. By the late seventeenth century, three major Panoan groups were established on or near the Ucayali: the Shetebo on the Manoa River; the Shipibo on the Pisqui and Aguaytia Rivers; and the Konibo on the Ucayali itself south of the Pachitea.

The Konibo became the dominant military and economic force on the Ucayali River (DeBoer 1986). They raided the interfluvial Panoans on a regular basis, with their preferred targets being the Amawaka and the "Remo," a term that is not a "genuine" ethnonym but rather a catch-all term for the diverse groups of interfluvial Panoans living east of the Ucayali and north of the Pachitea, but south of the "Mayoruna" groups that dominated the east of the Ucayali closer to the Marañón (Krokoszynski & Fleck, this volume). They also raided the Kashibo and, infrequently, the Mayoruna (this latter also a catch-all term—see below). Chroniclers record that the Konibo often traded the adult men to Europeans for metal tools. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was common for missionaries to acquire "souls" by this method, while in the nineteenth century the Konibo supplied the labor demands of the forest extractive industries. However, while they traded the men for tools, they kept the women and children. This was associated with an explicit policy of cultural assimilation. The Konibo believed interfluvial Panoans to be savages in need of civilization. Capture was followed by cultural absorption, reflected archaeologically (and ethnoarchaeologically) in the fact that captured women precisely replicated Konibo ceramics rather than producing ceramics according to their own cultural parameters. Although the Konibo were the dominant raiders throughout the three hundred years from 1650 to 1950, the Shipibo and Shetebo also participated in raiding. We should also note that the missionary chroniclers report mutual intelligibility of Shetebo, Shipibo, and Konibo speech, and the fact that these apparently separate groups recognized that they were more similar to one another than they were to any other Panoans. While they were often at odds with one another, sometimes competing for access to missionary goods and other times fighting one another, they were also capable of alliance, most notably in the case of the Shetebo-Shipibo-Konibo military alliance of 1766, which resulted in the expulsion of the Franciscans from the Ucayali until 1790.

In the nineteenth century, the Shetebo, Shipibo, and Konibo appear to have initiated a process of fusion that eventually led to the current situation in which their distinct identities have nearly faded and they are more often considered a single group. This should not be so surprising: if their speeches were mutually intelligible in the seventeenth century, they were in all likelihood one group not too long before that. One

possible hypothesis is the following. If we accept archaeologists' (e.g., Lathrap 1970), statements that the Cumancaya ceramic tradition represents the arrival of the ancestors of the Shipibo-Konibo-Shetebo on the Ucayali roughly around 800 C.E., it seems that this population dominated the Ucayali without challenge for roughly 500 years. However, the arrival of the Tupian ancestors of the Cocama, around 1300 C.E., disrupted the Panoan dominance and forced Panoan groups southwards. It is probable that the division of the Ucayali Panoans dates from this time, as some Panoans (Konibo) moved upstream to dominate the upper Ucayali while others moved up the tributaries of the Ucayali (Shetebo, Shipibo). In all likelihood, they kept open lines of communication so that by the time we have historical records, they were not very differentiated either linguistically or culturally. According to Myers (1974), the establishment of the Franciscan missions on the Sarayacu in the 1790s is what propelled these groups towards their subsequent fusion. The missions became a powerful attraction for Panoan groups in search of metal, and these missions became multiethnic settlements. Shetebo, Shipibo, and Konibo who were settled in the same area began to intermarry, a process noted also by the many travelers of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, a series of factors contributed to the continuing fusion of Shetebo, Shipibo, and Konibo. The Shetebo population had been reduced, apparently through conflict with the Shipibo (Myers 1974), and the Shetebo slowly lost their distinct identity. The Shipibo population began to grow and they reoccupied the Ucayali River itself; the Shetebo were eventually absorbed into the Shipibo. The development of intensive exploitation of sarsaparilla and rubber led to further blurring of the Shipibo-Konibo-Shetebo boundaries as members of these groups moved from place to place in debt peonage and in the quest for the best sources of metal tools. While this phase came to an end with the fall of rubber prices in the early twentieth century, by the 1960s a new set of missionaries—this time SIL—concentrated Ucayali Panoans in villages. Morin (1998) states that the generalization of writing tended to erase dialectal differences, amalgamating Shipibo and Konibo into one "ethnolingustic Shipibo group," a single politico-cultural entity cemented by a common language. Thus, while much of the literature on the Ucayali Panoans from the twentieth century refer to them as the "Shipibo-Conibo," more recent writing has ceased to refer to the Konibo as a distinct group and tends to refer to the whole Ucayali Panoan continuum as "Shipibo." The Ucayali Panoans have come full circle: a single group until the 1300s, they were never too distinct and they are now again a single group, 700 years later.

Matses and Matis

The Matses and Matis are both members of the Mayoruna subgroup of the Panoan family, a set of "ethnic groups" whose languages, worldviews, and sociocultural practices are recognizably Panoan and yet in many ways distinct from those of other Panoans. The term "Mayoruna" has historically been used to refer to the Panoan peoples who inhabited the area between the lower Ucayali and the Javari at least since the earliest missionary reports in the first half of the seventeenth century. Until the late twentieth century, the Mayoruna were erroneously thought of as a "tribe," that is, a unitary and cohesive social group with a common language, culture, identity, and social framework. Ethnographers who worked among Mayoruna in the late twentieth century, however, realized that

"Mayoruna" was a generic exogenous term for all the Panoan inhabitants of this region (and some neighboring areas on the Brazilian side of the Javari). While Romanoff (1984) favored abandoning the term, Erikson (1996) suggested using it as the name for this subgroup of the Panoan family, with full recognition that the peoples dubbed "Mayoruna" do not have a single ethnic identity and are, in fact, split into multiple groups.

Erikson (1996) proposed that, from earliest historical times until the late nineteenth century, Mayoruna peoples occupied a continuous bloc of territory stretching from the lower Ucayali east as far as the Jutaí River. Although never politically united and always divided into numerous autonomous subgroups with complex, overlapping, and shifting ethnic borders and identities, the Mayoruna groups were nevertheless linked by specific intergroup relationships which could, particularly for the purposes of defense against outside aggression, form more or less temporary confederations. Erikson hypothesized that this Mayoruna continuum was broken up by the events of the rubber boom, namely the often-violent arrival of large numbers of nonnative peoples throughout the Mayoruna area. As a result of these invasions, the Mayoruna were "atomized," so that groups that formerly recognized themselves as parts of a larger whole now found themselves isolated for decades, as well as being subjected to intense demographic pressure. Among these groups are the contemporary Matses and Matis.

The Matses are well known for incorporating large numbers of captives into their emergent unitary social entity, especially during the first half of the twentieth century. The first to provide quantitative data on this phenomenon were Fields and Merrifield (1980:3): "Of 146 known marriage unions, 71 involved non-Mayoruna captured women as opposed to 75 native Mayoruna women, or approximately half the total, indicating the relatively great importance wife-capture has played in Mayoruna society in recent years" (note that Fields and Merrifield were still using the term "Mayoruna" to refer to the specific group of Mayoruna now known as Matses). Romanoff (1984:71–72) confirmed these rather stunning figures. His census data indicate that, in 1976, 21% of females and 6% of males were captives. However, the percentage of female captives was much higher in older age groups, reflecting the fact that raids were less frequent from 1960 on and ceased altogether around 1969. Romanoff noted that 61% of women aged 30 to 44 were captives, and 58% of women over the age of 45 were captives. The frequency of wife-capture resulted in a situation where over half (59%) of all Matses were either captives or had at least one captive parent.

Despite the fact that "native" Matses were outnumbered by captives and captives' children, Romanoff (1984) and Fleck (personal commuication) confirm that captives were effectively absorbed into Matses culture and that the cultural distinctiveness of the captives was rarely if ever transmitted to the next generation nor, indeed, maintained for long in the current generation. Captives' offspring were considered fully Matses, spoke only a few words—if that—of their parents' language, and in general adhered to Matses social and cultural praxis. In part, this has to do with the fact that many of the Matses' favorite raiding targets became extinct (the case of the Chankuëshbo, Dëmushbo, and Paud Usunkid) or moribund (the case of the 'Kulina-Pano'). For these people, there was never a "home" to dream of returning to. However, one must also assume that the Matses had highly efficient cultural assimilation practices, which have not yet been well

elucidated by ethnographers (though this is one of Fleck's main current research interests (personal communication)).

The Matses practice of raiding and capturing wives, which contributed to the extinction of several other Mayoruna groups, was instrumental in their own survival as a demographically viable and culturally cohesive society. Romanoff estimated the Matses population in 1976 at 823, but also estimated that their population would have been around 300 if they had not been so successful at raiding and wife-capture. Today, the Matses are one of the larger extant Panoan groups.

Among the Matis, Erikson (1996) found abundant evidence of the Panoan obsession with the absorption of alterity. Erikson interpets the Matis as a remnant of the hypothetical Mayoruna continuum that existed until the rubber boom, but one whose historical trajectory resulted in a much smaller population at the time of formal contact with the Brazilian government, when they numbered approximately 150. The Matis had engaged in a conflict with their Panoan (and Mayoruna) neighbors the Korubo, whom they actively raided until the 1920s (Erikson 1996:98). During the period of active conflict with the Korubo, the Matis captured several Korubo women; during Erikson's fieldwork, the descendants of these captives were still identified by being placed in a crypto-moiety called *ayakobo*. A second group of individuals said to be descended from a captive woman were also placed in the *ayakobo* category, but were given their own denomination, *tsawesbo*. The *ayakobo*, who were all uterine descendants of captives, represented approximately one third of the Matis population. They were not mistreated or ostracized and were fully integrated into Matis culture and society. Thus, the Matses pattern of capturing and integrating members of other Panoan groups was present, albeit on a smaller scale, among the Matis.

In addition to the physical incorporation of captives as a named subcategory of their own group, Erikson describes ways in which the Matis symbolically incorporate alterity. *Matis*, far from being an exclusive ethnonym, means "people" and thus can be applied to members of other ethnic groups. The Matis also distinguish *matis kimo* from *matis utsi*, a distinction that could be taken to signify "real" Matis and "other people"; but in fact, the Matis consider some of their own small group to be "other people," while they consider some non-Matis to be "real Matis." Thus, the *matis kimo*/*matis utsi* distinction "pertains to ideal factors that aim for the symbolic incorporation of alterity rather than its exclusion from the human category" (Erikson 1996:77). Likewise, the Matis call themselves *mushabo*, tattooed people, which distinguishes them from their enemies the Korubo. But it also identifies them with their non-Matis neighbors, the Marubo, Matses, and Maya. "In typically Panoan fashion, even the most specific of self-designations, such as *mushabo*, thus create a means of access ending up with the recognition of alterity" (Erikson 1996:85). Erikson (1996:81) summarizes his view of the significance of alterity in Panoan definitions of self: "In the end, alterity (even the most radical) appears to be not merely ideologically indispensable to the perpetuation of self; it is even, paradoxically, perceived as consubstantial. Panoan identity, not content with defining itself vis-à-vis alterity (which is a truism), goes so far as to construct itself symbolically through what we have called the principle of constitutive alterity."

Yaminawa and Kashinawa

The Yaminawa have been perhaps the largest source of confusion for Panoan ethnologists until recent times, for it is in the region of the upper Purús that a great profusion of ethnonyms bedeviled scholars and led to the illusory multiplication of Panoan groups: "The Purús Panoans, in which the Yaminahua are included, appear superficially to be a more diverse linguistic category than [Amawaka or Kashinawa]. There are a host of *nahua* group names listed for them, giving the impression of a much more heterogeneous category than either Cashinahua or Amahuaca. This impression is largely illusory. These *nahua* groups have become dispersed as a result of historical events surrounding the rubber boom … and, encountered at different places and different times, they have been given different names. In terms of language or cultural tradition they are no more diverse, however, than either the representatives of the Amahuaca or Cashinahua categories" (Townsley 1988:12). Thus, ethnonyms such as Mastanawa, Parquenawa, Sharanawa, and Marinawa refer to the a single ethnolinguistic group, which is now sometimes referred to simply as "Yaminawa" (Erikson, personal communication). The contemporary Yaminawa dialect complex would thus seem to be the result of a historical process of fission and fusion. The linguistic identity of the multiple Purús Panoan groups indicates a recent unity. The relatively uniform ancestral Yaminawa group was most likely broken into separate units by the intense violence and territorial fragmentation of the rubber boom. More recently, these groups have begun to re-establish ties and re-form a social continuum. Members of the different Purús Panoan subgroups are now intermarrying; thus, the rubber boom fragmentation, far from resulting in a multiplicity of bounded identities, was a temporary atomization only, a sort of supernova that has been followed by a gravitational re-agglomeration of its component parts. Although their present configuration is not a precise replica of the past, this case shows that the tendency among Panoans is not only towards fission and fragmentation, it is also towards fusion and agglomeration, as Erikson (1993) has previously noted.

The Yaminawa case again highlights the uniqueness of the Kashinawa case. Presented with historical conditions in which a *repli sur soi* (a folding in on oneself) would seem to be the logical conclusion given the supposed Panoan tendency towards fragmentation and endogamous social impermeability, the Yaminawa instead maintained their openness to alterity. Though multiplying their intra-ethnic differences, these differences never became boundaries, and with historical conditions once again favoring indigenous confederations and networks, the Yaminawa seem to be forming a typically Panoan "fuzzy continuum" where the very concept of ethnic boundary is elusive, perhaps meaningless. Surely this historical process, so consistent with Panoan social concepts, is not unique in the history of this language family. More than once in Panoan history, a fuzzy continuum broke up into smaller fragments, only to re-fuse into a different shape, from which yet another set of groups in turn separated, perhaps to fuse with another continuum, or to return to the fold and yet again alter the shape of the social system. For a group to establish endogamy and remain apart from the rest of Panoans, as the Kashinawa have done, appears to be a most un-Panoan self-condemnation to solitude. The Panoans far prefer the idea that they are not alone in the world, and appear to find any hint of solipsism extremely distressing.

Marubo

We can now place Marubo ethnogenesis in the context of broader processes of Panoan ethnosocial transformation. The seemingly paradoxical principles of Panoan culture and history noted by Erikson—the tendency towards proliferation of named groups and the openness to alterity—are both present in Marubo history. The third important factor we must keep in mind in examining this case is the fluidity of "ethnic" boundaries in the Panoan family. As Erikson (1996) has pointed out, Panoans are prone to extend their "ethnonym" to more or less distant and linguistically differentiated peoples, because of some perceived "similarity." They are also prone to call some portion of their own social group "other." There are named groups that anthropologists would call "clans" rather than "ethnic groups," but these are considered separate "peoples." And yet, I think it would be a mistake to consider that the Panoan concept of ethnicity is not really a concept of "ethnicity." On the contrary, in selecting a linguistically different group for consideration as "the same," Panoans focus on perceived cultural similarities—forms of social behavior, physical decoration, linguistic expressions, manifestations of cosmologic and ethical knowledge, subsistence, exchange, or spatial arrangement. These are precisely the sorts of features that can be taken to define ethnicity if we choose an instrumentalist rather than a primordialist view of ethnicity. And yet while Panoan ethnicity is definitely not primordialist, neither is it precisely instrumentalist.

The differing opinions of Marubo regarding the relative identity of Shipibo and Kapanawa shed some light on the particularities of Panoan ethnicity. Anthropologists have long considered the Kapanawa to be "backwoods" or interfluvial Panoans, closely related to such other east-of-the-Ucayali groups as the Marubo, Iskonawa, "Remo," and Katukina. However, Fleck (this volume) has recently pointed out that Kapanawa and Shipibo share 90% of their vocabulary. Some Marubo students who recently viewed a DVD on the Shipibo stated that while they recognized some words, they understood very little, and when I presented a Marubo elder with a list of Shipibo kin terms, he stated that the Shipibo were "other" (*wetsa*). The Marubo thus recognize the Shipibo as Panoan, of course, but as a different people, not like the Marubo. On the other hand, many Marubo seem to believe that the Kapanawa are a lost proto-Marubo group, of similar nature to the current components of Marubo society such as the Inonáwavo or Rovonáwavo. A Marubo elder is said to have walked to Kapanawa territory recently in an effort to "re"-establish the connection between these groups, and returned confirming that the Kapanawa are really Marubo. The idea that the Kapanawa are really Marubo is quintessentially Panoan. We know now that objectively, it is probable that the Kapanawa are a recent offshoot of the riverine Panoans (currently called Shipibo). And yet anthropologists, based on cultural traits similar to those considered by Panoans themselves, have long believed that the Kapanawa are more similar to the Marubo than to the Shipibo. Clearly, the primordialist view of ethnicity is here irrelevant. We should not be surprised that the Marubo consider the Kapanawa very similar if we ourselves have believed this to be true. And yet, while this shows that Panoan ethnicity is not dependent on "objective" biological ancestry, neither is it entirely instrumentalist, for the fluidity of Panoan ethnicity does not necessarily relate to any search for advantage in a postcolonial ethnically stratified state. What economic or political advantage is gained by symbolic

consubstantiation with the Kapanawa? Certainly, in this style of ethnicity, identity depends not on common ancestry but on some perceived similarity in selected cultural traits, and the perceivers exercise agency in their judgments of commonality. But this agency does not seem focused on jockeying for politico-economic advantage in an ethnically stratified state. We have here a specifically Amazonian variant of non-primordialist ethnicity. It is a variant we must keep in mind in considering Panoan histories.

The situation in the Javari basin prior to the rubber boom appears to have been what I am calling a "fuzzy continuum," similar to Erikson's hypothesized Mayoruna continuum, that is, an interconnected set of subgroups with shifting identities and relationships, permeable boundaries and frequent spatial and socio-structural rearrangements, with a clear perception of mutual similarity among the subgroups, but no sense of bounded "tribal" identity. This fuzzy continuum was exploded by the arrival of thousands of nonnatives and the accompanying violence, territorial dislocation, and alterations in subsistence and economic arrangements. During and after these events, influential Panoans worked consciously to bring together subgroups and to generate a new configuration. There is little doubt that this was a consciously conceived plan of action aimed at ensuring not merely survival but also future prosperity and the establishment of a social order based on qualities perceived to be desirable: healing, agriculture, feasting, fertility, living in longhouses, and linguistic prowess. The result was a new social configuration of subgroups, replicating on a smaller scale the fuzzy continuum from before the rubber boom. This helps us understand why the "Marubo" had no autonym when "first contacted": in typically Panoan fashion, they have never seen themselves as a bounded entity, and indeed, they still do not, for the Panoan urge to link up with other Panoans is very discernible among Marubo.

An openness to fusion with the other is at the origin of the contemporary Marubo, and that openness is still active today. The Marubo kinship system, as described by Melatti (1977, 1986), fits the Kariera type with a precision second only to the Kashinawa among all Panoans, with exogamous matrilineal units consisting of two named sections which alternate by generation. Furthermore, the exogamous matrilineal units have preferences for marriage with other units. For example, Melatti (1977:98) noted a significant preference for marriage between units H and I. However, unit I was already moribund; in the years since them, unit H has established a preferential marriage arrangement with unit E (Ruedas 2001:744–745), a preferential arrangement that does not appear rooted in any pre-rubber boom tradition. When any two exogamous matrilineal units establish a preferential exchange system that persists for several generations, the result is a Kariera-type system. But we never find the Marubo turning this from preferential to prescriptive. A matrilineal unit that today is preferentially exchanging with another may tomorrow switch to a new partner, or may split to have multiple preferential partners. The key point is that the system of exchanges is not restricted to the existing nine exogamous matrilineal units. During and after the rubber boom, new groups joined the core proto-Marubo over a period of several decades in the area between the upper Curuçá and Ituí. This was not a simultaneous process; it is clear that it took about 40 years at least, with different groups arriving at different times from the late nineteenth century into the 1930s. But the Marubo do not seem to consider that those who arrived by 1940 should be the exclusive members of their kinship structure. They

are still open to the idea that other groups should be part of the system. Over the past thirty years, a number of Kulina-Pano have intermarried with Marubo; the children of Kulina women are called "Kulina" although they speak Marubo and participate fully in Marubo society and culture. Thus, a small Kulina unit may be said to have "joined" the Marubo in recent decades. One Marubo informant told me in 1997 that the Matis had been so diminished in population that they might "become Marubo" in the future. That does not seem to be happening, but it is notable for highlighting an ideological openness to the incorporation of others. Finally, we must consider the conscious efforts to establish links with the Kapanawa, accompanied by the belief that the Kapanawa were members of the pre-rubber boom fuzzy continuum from which contemporary Marubo emerged, and that the Kapanawa somehow missed out on becoming Marubo and should be encouraged now to make up for the decades of separation. I do not know if any intermarriage will take place between Kapanawa and Marubo or whether the union of these peoples will remain wishful thinking on the part of a few idealistic elders; I doubt that the Marubo can convince the Kapanawa to become an exogamous matrilineal clan. What is certain is that the Marubo consider their ethnicity open, that this contributed to their ethnogenesis, and that the fact that openness to fusion helped them survive the rubber boom has predisposed them to consider that openness a beneficial attitude.

Conclusions: Patterns of Ethnosocial Transformation in Panoan Histories

> The Western ideological haberdashery offers, at a fair price and in a good deal, a cliché custom-made to the measurement of the Matis. That of the tiny "primitive" group that is territorially, demographically, and culturally bounded, an archaic vestige of the pre-Columbian past that survives, as if encysted, in this last handful of Amazonian Mohicans. That of the last patch of snarling tropical peoples, backed up into a dead end of history, surrounded on all sides, and condemned to a short expiration date. This chapter proposes to demonstrate that, as widespread as it may be, this portrait remains no less fallacious. Here, far from the presumptuous primitive megalomania that consists of dehumanizing all that does not pertain to one's own priggish little isolate, there is a refusal to define oneself as a tribe. Here, we are another (at least in part) and the other is in us.
>
> (Erikson 1996:72)

This analysis of Marubo ethnogenesis in the context of Panoan concepts and practices of alterity confirms Erikson's description of the ease with which apparently distinct Panoans fuse together (1993:55) and the extreme rarity of firm ethnic boundaries in the Panoan language family (1993:47–49). Even under severe demographic and territorial pressure from Spanish missionaries and soldiers, Portuguese slavers, and rubber extractors and merchants of all sorts and stripes, Panoans retained the will to confederate and fuse. They may have been forced to fragment and lose contact with their fellow Panoans for a few decades, but this has not made them lose the will to pursue Panoan unity, as the Marubo romance with the Kapanawa quite clearly demonstrates. There remains the enjoyable task of imagining the implications of these Panoan particularities for understanding the histories of Panoan peoples.

A common approach to language families in Amazonia is to wonder where they came from. This question arises in the Panoan case most significantly when we consider the archaeological evidence of Panoan settlement in the Ucayali basin. When Lathrap suggested Panoan arrival in the Ucayali area around 300 C.E. and cited glottochronology and Panoan linguistic homogeneity to argue that Panoans only began to diverge about 2000 years ago, the implications were quite clear. Somewhere, approximately 2000 years ago, there was a single Panoan tribe. It is the location of this primordial Panoan unit that we are thinking of when we ask where Panoans came from. The further implication of this perspective (which I am not criticizing, but only making explicit) is that the Ucayali settlers whose remains Lathrap studied represent the primordial Panoan fission. In the beginning, there were only "Panoans." Then, some of these decided to migrate to the area of the Ucayali, where they originally settled in the surrounding uplands since the river itself was occupied by powerful and confederated Arawakans. Then, after about 500 years of wistful watching from on high, they took over the Ucayali and have kept it ever since. But not all of them left the uplands, and thus the interfluvial and riverine Panoans split. But hovering over this much-disputed narrative is the unchallenged assumption of a primordial Panoan group, along with the correlate that if we can identify the location of this group, we will have solved the riddle of Panoan origins.

But what does Panoan unity look like? While admitting that ethnographic analogy is problematic, it must nevertheless be put to use. Ethnographically, the autarkic, undifferentiated, bounded tribe is nowhere to be found in the Panoan language family (even the Kashinawa recognize non-Kashinawa as *shutanawa*, namesakes, and thus potential kin). And if it does not exist today, and there is no trace of it in the historic records, we cannot assume that it existed in the prehistoric past. If the primordial, territorially restricted Panoans of 2000 BP were really Panoan, then they harbored a proliferation of internal distinctions and subgroups, fissioning and fusing in kaleidoscopic (Townsley 1988) and fractal (Cesarino 2008) fashion. Surely, they were already a fuzzy continuum, with no single term for the "ethnic group" or "tribe," except for some term meaning persons (Erikson 1993:50), for Panoans have no overarching autonyms, attributing an ethnic identity to what we might consider a clan or moiety or phratry, and rarely attributing a distinct ethnic identity to what we might consider the "ethnic group."

Perhaps we can use the term *parcialidad*, commonly found in Mayoruna ethnohistory (Coutinho 1993, Erikson 1996), to better understand Panoan internal differentiations. Its very vagueness can be an advantage given the variable nature of Panoan internal differentiation. *Parcialidad* can mean anything—a village, a series of villages, a leader's following, a clan, a house—and in this it resembles "Panoan subgroup," which can also be just about anything. A Panoan subgroup can be a group of descendants of captives or of a particular captive, as in the case of the Matis *ayakobo* and *tsawesbo*, or a moiety with purely symbolic and ritual significance, as in the case of the Matses "jaguar-kind" and "worm-kind." It can be an exogamous marriage section, half of a unilineal unit, as in the case of the Marubo (matrilineal) and Kashinawa (patrilineal), or a standard exogamous clan as in the case of the Katukina. In the Yaminawa dialect complex, subgroups can be clans, apparent clans that have abandoned exogamy, or clans that have abandoned and then readopted exogamy, or perhaps none of the above, but something like a non-exogamous phratry or sib. The only recurring feature seems to be the use of some variant of *nawabo* (*nawa*= "people" or "strangers," *–bo*= plural) in

naming these groups, though often only the pluralizer is found. This tremendous variety of subgroups—exogamous and nonexogamous, sociostructural and symbolic, alternating generations and not alternating generations—makes it unlikely that a proto-Panoan condition can be reconstructed (*pace* Kashinawa). In fact, there is no reason to assume that our longed-for proto-Panoans even agreed that all subgroups should look and act alike. If the Kashinawa have patrilineal alternating-generation sections and the Marubo have matrilineal alternating-generation sections, perhaps at some point there was an argument between matrilinearists and patrilinearists, and if so perhaps there have also been arguments between exogamists and nonexogamists, or between sociostructuralists and ritual-symbolists. This is not a mere flight of fancy, for Coffaci (1994) actually witnessed arguments over whether Katukina clans should be matrilineal or patrilineal, with different people reckoning descent in different ways. Leaving speculation to aside, however, we must conclude that even territorially circumscribed Panoans have no bounded ethnic identity, that the nature of their subdivisions is variable and fluid, and a virtually meaningless term such as *parcialidad* gives a better idea of this type of situation than a more technical term such as "clan," "phratry," or "moiety." It points to the commonality in Panoan social arrangements: the existence, not of bounded units with formally elegant structural subunits, but of fluid unbounded continua with prolific but protean subdivisions.

Aside from the implications for thinking about proto-Panoans, the fluidity of Panoan ethnic boundaries and subgroups has implications for thinking about the relationships between Ucayali and non-Ucayali ("backwoods" or "interfluvial") Panoans. Whether the original Panoans were peoples of the floodplain or of the uplands, it is clear that once Panoans settled on the Ucayali relations with interfluvial Panoans took on a hierarchical tone marked by the privileged position of the Ucayali Panoans in the regional trade system, controlling as they did supplies of essential tools made of ground stone, bronze, and later steel (DeBoer 1986). But it is also becoming clear that the separation between riverine and interfluvial Panoans was never rigid, a fact consistent with Panoan concepts of social boundaries. We know that the Ucayali Panoans have been consistently raiding and absorbing others, and especially fellow Panoans, and we know that they have been fusing with one another; but they also exuded groups into the interfluves. The Kapanawa, whose linguistic similarity with the Shipibo indicates a very recent separation, would seem to be conclusive evidence of this. Thus, the Ucayali Panoans have not only been exchangers and consumers of Panoans, they have also been producers of Panoans. This is very likely the case for all Panoan continua, including the Mayoruna continuum, the Juruá-Purús continuum, and the Kapanawa–Marubo–Katukina continuum (the latter two may alternatively be considered a single continuum).

It seems we are very unlikely to trace a nice, neat family tree showing branches splitting off over time from an original Panoan trunk. Such a linear process of progressive division is improbable given that Panoans fuse and absorb one another as often as they split off and divide. However, the effort of reconstructing Panoan histories is not futile, for if neatly bounded tribes have not, in general, existed, fuzzy continua broadly linked with large geographic territories have, and there is no reason why the story of these groupings cannot be reconstructed provided we accept a substantial margin of error.

END NOTES

Acknowledgments. Many thanks to Elena Welper (Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro) for her extensive comments on this draft and many suggestions and corrections based on her ongoing original research on Marubo ethnogenesis.

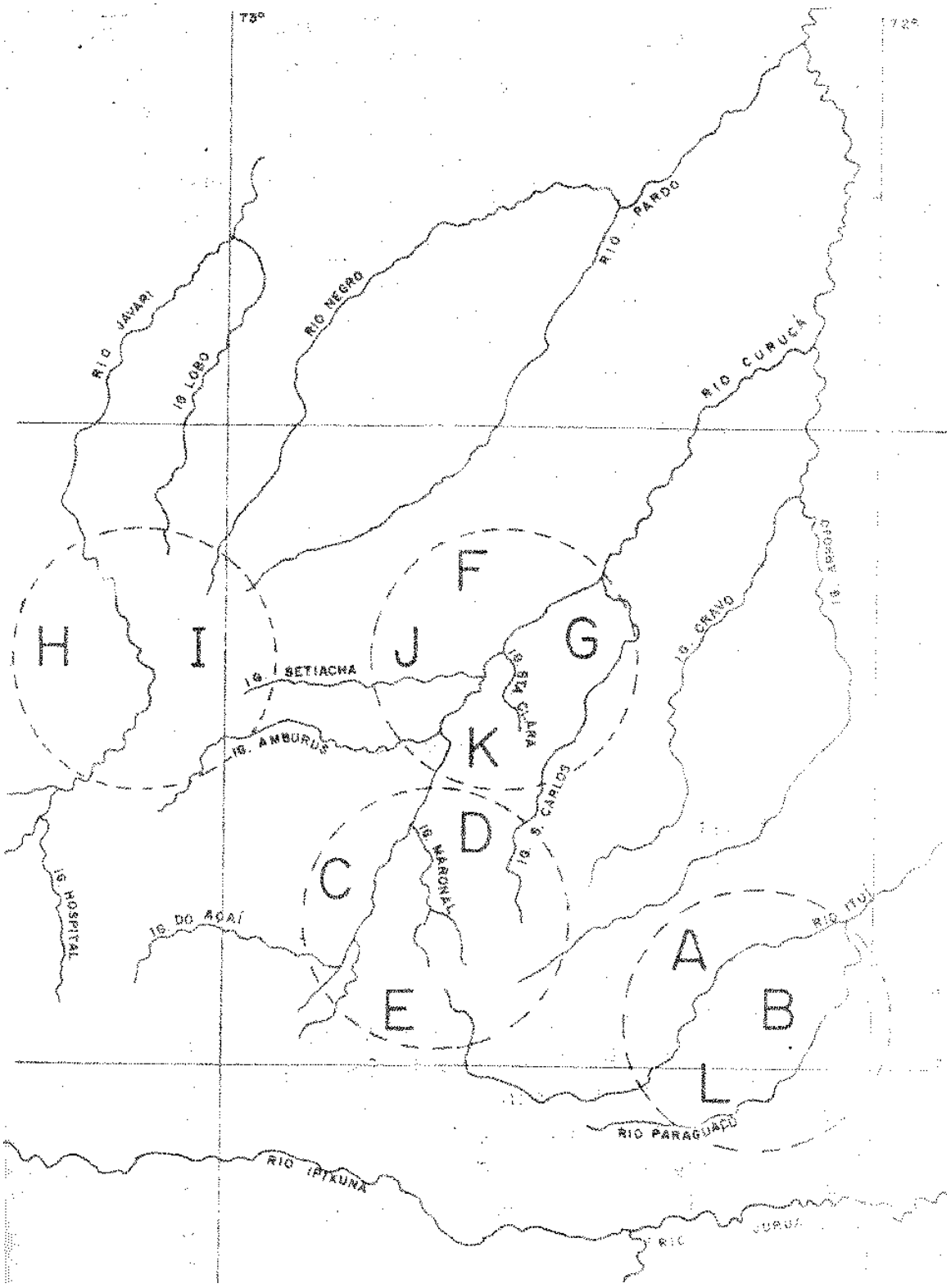
1. Welper (personal communication) notes that another way in which the Marubo often refer to the sections in Portuguese is with the term *povos*, "peoples." It is particularly common to hear the phrase *os povos Marubo*, "the Marubo peoples," rather than *o povo Marubo*, "the Marubo people."
2. Matrilineal descent is relatively rare but not unique in the Panoan family. The Matis have two named subgroups with matrilineal recruitment (Erikson 1996:92–98). The Katukina, whose language is closely related to Marubo, appear to have been matrilineal until recently, though they are now split between advocates of matrilineality and patrilineality (Coffaci 1994:47–49).
3. It is necessary to emphasize that, while Peruvians (mostly indigenous) were inhabiting much of the Javari basin by 1900, Brazilians were restricted to the lower reaches of the basin, near the Amazon itself around the town of Remate de Males. Substantive Brazilian habitation of the basin interior did not occur until the 1920s (Welper, personal communication).
4. Many thanks to Elena Welper for helping me get this exchange system right.
5. The identification of these people as Matses is based on Dico Vadick's statement to Melatti and Montagner Melatti (1975:18). Vadick identified the people who worked for Inglês and were killed by the Marubo as "Mayo." Vadick then stated that these Mayo had expelled all rubber workers from the Curuçá by 1960 and were inhabiting the Igarapé Lobo, where Matses were known to live shortly thereafter. This makes the identification of the Mayo as Matses likely if not certain. Fleck (personal communication) also states that "Mayo" was used to refer to Matses in the first half of the twentieth century.
6. Welper (personal communication) notes that the blame for the death of Júlio's father, as well as the identification of instigators of violence in other parts of Júlio's story, changes with the timing and social context of its telling, so that the precise content of this motif is dependent on social and political considerations of the storyteller.
7. Interestingly, whereas Panoan captive women are said to cease production of the ceramic styles of their groups of origin in favor of their captives' styles (Romanoff 1984, DeBoer 1986), this would indicate that Panoan women captured by nonindigenous people did retain their own ceramic production styles.
8. It is interesting to note the similarity between the name of the mysterious proto-Marubo Atashenivo section and the Shipibo clan named Atsashenebo, translated by Morin (1998:344) as "manioc people." *Sheni* in Marubo means "old," but the Marubo word for manioc is *atsa*, not *ata*. Thus, *Atashenivo* may mean "old manioc people," but this translation will require further field inquiries for confirmation.

Table 1: Marubo matrilineal units

Names of sections		Letter assigned in Melatti 1977, 1986	Population in 1975	Population in 1998
Group 1	Group 2			
Shanenáwavo	Iskonáwavo	A	88	180
Varináwavo	Tamaoavo	B	52	106
Txonavo	Iskonáwavo	C	24	44
Shawãvo	Iskonáwavo	D	48	121
Satanáwavo	Rovonáwavo	E	60	131
Ninávavo	Ranenáwavo	F	34	72
Ninávavo	Inonáwavo	G	19	47
Wanĩvo	Kamãnáwavo	H	56	149
Kananáwavo	Inonáwavo	I	8	4
Shainávavo	Yenenáwavo	J	Extinct	Extinct
Ninávavo	Nomanáwavo	K	Extinct	Extinct
Varikayõvo	Iskonáwavo	L	Extinct	Extinct

Notes: 1975 population figures are derived from census data obtained by Melatti and shared with the author. Population figures for 1998 are were obtained by the author. To provide continuity with prior research and publications, I include Melatti's system for classifying the matrilineal units and sections. Melatti (1977:93–94; 1986:32) assigned a letter to each matrilineal unit. He further noted that in units A through E, there is always one section that is called Iskonáwavo (oropendola people), since informants mentioned that Iskonáwavo was an alternate name for both Tamaoavo and Rovonáwavo. In addition, in units G through I one of the sections is called "jaguar people," as *kamã* is contemporary Marubo for "jaguar," while *ino* is said to be an archaic term for jaguar. He thus placed all the oropendola and jaguar people in group 2, with their *kokavo* in group 1. Thus, the Varináwavo are section B1, while the Tamaoavo are section B2. Melatti (1986:27) later noted that there is more than a merely analytic existence for these groupings, as the members of each group 1 and 2 are distinguished in the Marubo origin myth by the type of ornaments their leaders wear as they emerge from holes in the ground at their creation. My census data indicate that Melatti's unit K is in fact the same as unit G, with Nomanáwavo being an alternative name for that particular section of Inonáwavo.

Figure 1. Reconstruction of clusters formed by Marubo matrilineal units in the past (Melatti 1986:33). For names of units, refer to Table 1.



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