A TASTE OF MOVEMENT : AN EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIAL ETHICS OF THE TSIMANES OF LOWLAND BOLIVIA

Rebecca Ellis

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St. Andrews

1997

Full metadata for this item is available in Research@StAndrews:FullText at:
http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
http://hdl.handle.net/10023/2901

This item is protected by original copyright
A TASTE FOR MOVEMENT:

AN EXPLORATION OF THE SOCIAL ETHICS
OF THE TSI MANES OF LOWLAND BOLIVIA.

Submitted by Rebecca Ellis
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in St. Andrews University

September 1996
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ABSTRACT**

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**A LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES**

**SOME NOTES ON TSIMANE ORTHOGRAPHY**

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

**CHAPTER TWO: THE PERIPATETIC NATURE OF KNOWING AND MOVING**

**CHAPTER THREE: RESIDENCE DECISIONS**

**CHAPTER FOUR: MARRIAGE**

**CHAPTER FIVE: AN ESCAPE FROM ANGER**

**CHAPTER SIX: A MERGING OF HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN DOMAINS**

**CHAPTER SEVEN: FOOD, BEER AND GENDER**

**CHAPTER EIGHT: ILLNESS AND DEATH**

**CONCLUSION:**

**GLOSSARY**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
ABSTRACT

This thesis explores Tsimane understandings and creations of varying forms of sociality. Each chapter addresses different but related issues concerning sociality. Fieldwork was carried out in three riverine settlements over the period from December 1991 to August 1994.

The thesis shows that sociality is created and perpetuated by individuals as a processual endeavour, and does not amount to a tangible structure predicated upon fixed social relationships. Community in a physically bounded sense is not found amongst the Tsimanes. Given forms of sociality are shown to rest more upon an appropriateness or inappropriateness of mood or affectivity. These are created and effected by subtle details of each individual's presence amongst others. Social presence is understood by the Tsimanes as both potentially nurturant and predatory.

Tsimanes are explicit about their ideas of preferred and abhorred social presence and behaviour of human and non-human others. This thesis explores ways in which such ideas are articulated to create a discourse on social ethics. A Tsimane aesthetics of social living carries with it practical implications for creating and perpetuating forms of sociality.

An underlying theme of the thesis is one of mobility and the oscillating nature of Tsimane movements between different groups of kin and affines, and between moods and forms of sociality. I demonstrate that the high value placed by the Tsimanes upon movement, and the enjoyment they experience from it, most efficiently enable the achievement of correct social existence. A lack of knowledge and intention, ultimately resulting in illness and death, are principally deemed to occur as a result of immobility.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My warmest thanks goes to the Tsimane individuals who made my stay with them possible, and taught me how to move, see and learn in their forest and river environment. I think with particular fondness of Lorencia Viye, Miguel Durbani, Serafin Tayo, Lorencia Lero, Carmen Lero and Crisanto Tayo who showed me much warmth and generosity during my months with them and their families.

Research for this thesis was funded by an Economic and Social Research Council Studentship, a scholarship from the School of Philosophical and Anthropological Studies, St. Andrews University and Access Funds from the London School of Economics and St. Andrews University. I gratefully acknowledge these contributions.

I would like to thank in particular my supervisor Professor Joanna Overing who has offered continual inspiration, intellectual and practical guidance and encouragement throughout all stages of my research and writing.

The New Tribes Missionaries Dino and Eleanor Kempf and Padre Martin Bauer of the Catholic Mission Fatima provided considerable hospitality and practical support on a number of occasions during my months in lowland Bolivia. I thank them for their help. I acknowledge the preliminary guidance from Conservación Internacional Bolivia. I would also like to thank Isabelle Daillant for sending me her thesis so promptly.

Over a period of several years in Bolivia, I greatly enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of Igor Patzi, Anja Zwicker, Rocio de Vaca and her children, and Nino Vaca. I am most deeply grateful to Luis and Mireya Araoz for their help, generosity and love.

The students of the Thesis Writing Seminars at the London School of Economics offered much helpful comment and support during my earlier stages of writing. I especially thank Mark Jamieson, Mark Harris, Alan Passes, Gisela Pauli and Dimitris Theodossopoulos. Philip Thomas contributed a number of very helpful bibliographical suggestions. I am also grateful to Ton Ton Pelczynski for proof reading parts of this thesis and to Juliette O’Keefe for help with formatting. I also thank Anne Christie for all her assistance.

I would like to thank my parents Mary Jane and John Orley profoundly for their affection, practical help, extreme generosity and all other means of support they have provided during this period. Gonzalo and Luzmila have had to tolerate considerable swings of mood and tensions over the past year. The writing of this thesis has only been made possible by their remarkable warmth, patience and tenderness. I am also indebted to Gonzalo for his intellectual inspiration and assistance at all stages of the writing of this thesis.
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES

Map 1: Bosque Tsimane  
Map 2: River Maniqui and its Tributaries  
Map 3: Yucumo (Boca, Campamento, Maraca)  
Map 4: Pachene - Ocuña  
Map 5: Fatima

Fig. 1: Tsimane Kinship Terminology (male ego)  
Fig. 2: Tsimane Kinship Terminology (female ego)  
Fig. 3: Yucumo Genealogy  
Fig. 3b: Extract from Yucumo Genealogy  
Fig. 4: Pachene-Buñí Genealogy  
Fig. 5: Fatima Genealogy  
Fig. 5b: Extract from Fatima Genealogy
Some Notes on Tsimane Orthography.

The Tsimane orthography used in the thesis is the same as that used by the New Tribes Missionaries (see Gill and Beesley 1991).

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>written</th>
<th>sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a] or [A]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i] or [I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o] or [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ä</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasalized vowels are indicated by underlining: a, e, i, o, u, ä.

Consonants

The glottal stop is a phoneme and is represented by the apostrophe (').

The consonants p,k,(c,qu), ts and ch occur both as aspirated and unaspirated in Tsimane. When aspirated they are written with a stress: ān (pʰ ān).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p} / \breve{\text{p}} & = \text{p} / \text{p}^h \\
\text{c} / \breve{\text{c}} & \text{ (before a,o,u, and ä and at the end of a word)} = \text{k} / \text{k}^h \\
\text{ts} / \breve{\text{ts}} & = \text{[tʃ]} / \text{[tʃʰ]} \\
\text{ch}/\breve{\text{ch}} & = \text{[tʃ]} / \text{[tʃʰ]} \\
\text{f (bilabial)} & = \text{[f]} \\
\text{s} & = \text{[s]} \\
\text{sh} & = \text{[ʃ]} \\
\text{b} & = \text{[b]}
\end{align*}
\]
N', 'D', 'T' may be pronounced in three different ways: palatal, dental and alveolar.

- Palatal: ɲ, dy, ty
- Dental: n, d, t (dental t, dy, n occur only before a and o)
- Alveolar: ň, ď, ĭ

The differences between dental and alveolar consonants are difficult to perceive but are nevertheless indicated in the text.

W may be pronounced in two ways: [b] (bilabial) before i and e.

- [w] before a, ā, o, u, and at the end of a word.

It also is transcribed in two ways: v at the beginning of a syllable ([b] or [w] accordingly).

- u at the end of a syllable.

Y when at the end of a word (always following a vowel) carries a slight aspiration, written as -ij. At the beginning of a syllable it is written as y-. Y' at the end of a word is written i'.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The final meanders of our journey along the snaking river Maniqui are carefully counted as we draw nearer to the house of our destination. The gentle rippling impression of several days of canoe travel with the Tsimanes gradually accelerates to one of restless uncertainty as we glide along the final stretch of a long and winding journey. The presence or absence of the family I seek will not be revealed until we finally stoop through the shade of a grove of plantains towards the house and fathom their exact whereabouts.

After what would invariably be five to six days on the water, I find the unpredictability of finding a Tsimane individual or family 'at home' particularly unnerving. Expectations of their presence are alternately shattered and raised, as people washing or fishing along the river bank provide conflicting details about the movements and location of the people I inquire about. Despite being told that he or she is at home - mu'ya', tacya' bā'yi, I know that they are quite likely to be away visiting or living with kin elsewhere.

After many disappointments, I gradually learnt to expect absence upon my arrival at Tsimane households, and occasionally met with pleasant surprise as I encountered a family resident where I had hoped them to be. Contrary to a popular, local Borjano conception of Tsimane residence and lifestyle, they are not a nomadic people. Nevertheless, a first impression of their social organization is one of de-centralized fluidity. Individuals and families move frequently between typically small and scattered settlements, either for short visits or for temporary changes of residence. Physically bounded communities are difficult if not impossible to find.

Perhaps like many anthropology students encountering the realities of fieldwork for the first time, I spent too long asking the Tsimanes the wrong questions and preoccupying myself with inappropriate concerns. I had planned to find one Tsimane 'community' and live within it for at least eighteen months. Yet I could not find 'community' as I had understood it from a range of Amazonian literature. Nor could I unravel a Tsimane notion or understanding of its presence. It quickly became clear that Tsimane concerns about their social existence were not bound up with a sense of prolonged physical togetherness.

1 Aside from New Tribes Missionary literature, the spelling used in all references to the Tsimanes, ethnographic or otherwise, is Chimane. I have used the spelling of the word Tsimane according to that suggested by the New Tribes Missionaries as it appears closest to the Tsimane pronunciation.

2 Borjano refers to national Bolivians from the nearest town San Borja.
Lengthy periods of shared co-residence, of working, eating, drinking and sleeping together, were not perceived by the Tsimanes as necessary for creating persons or significant social relations.

Upon fully accepting the absence of a physically centralized sense of community amongst the Tsimanes, I decided to expand my own boundaries of what I thought it could incorporate. I explored the notion of its existence, not in a physically rooted sense, but invisibly so to speak. By living in a number of Tsimane settlements and travelling extensively with them, I thought I was being gradually awakened to a Tsimane extended sense of community. I understood this to exist along threads of each person's individual kindred network which lay scattered and dispersed throughout Tsimane territory. These disparate strands, I thought, were pulled together to create a whole. The Tsimane sense of community, perhaps existed as a result of periodic rekindling of dispersed relationships in times of visiting and co-residence.

Despite acquiring a wider knowledge of Tsimane kinship, residence and marriage practices, and of their array of human and non-human social relationships through moving and visiting with them, I eventually realized that I was wholly mistaken in searching for a Tsimane concept of 'community'. 'Community', it transpired, was my own preoccupation and not a Tsimane concern. By abandoning an erroneous search for 'community', the saliency of other Tsimane concerns gradually revealed themselves.

Rivière (1984), speaking specifically about the social organization of peoples of the Guianas, rightly criticizes a general tendency, especially in Amazonian ethnography, to define such societies in terms of what they lack. The approach he writes of, underlines an absence of marked social categories and hierarchical structures amongst these peoples, and emphasizes their 'amorphous' nature (see Thomas 1982). In Rivière's words, 'Pierre Clastres (1977) correctly pointed out that drawing our attention to what is absent is a result of our own expectation. If we cannot identify political organization we must not assume that it is lacking; rather we must accept that we are looking in the wrong place or for the wrong thing and look elsewhere' (p.4).

Viveiros de Castro (1992) in his description of the Araweté, labels the social structure of this Tupi Guarani group as 'minimalist' (p.6) and compares it to the more elaborate 'structural' organization of Gê societies. He follows on to starkly contrast their weak and nebulous social organization with a 'top heavy' cosmology. All social stratification and complexity absent in the living human social world are reinstated in the heavens. He argues furthermore, that it is really this 'heavenly existence' which fully preoccupies the Araweté. It would appear from his descriptions of the Araweté, that daily life is dull and
imbued with inertia and absence. It is perhaps not Viveiros de Castro's intention to remove significance from Araweté daily social existence, nor to suggest a lack present in their social organization. Nevertheless, the word 'minimalist' rings of deficiency. Such an approach hardly does justice to a fine array of subtle intricacies which make social life and the very essence of human existence possible amongst the Araweté and other Amazonian peoples.

* My aim in this thesis is to present some of the fine but potent details of Tsimane social living. I will reveal the ways in which each individual bears the immense responsibility of creating, daily, a possible social existence. Rather than perceiving a lack of grand social institutions, I argue that in the daily, processual creations of differing forms of sociality, Tsimane social life is revealed as something both highly complex and subtle. It is not that they lack hierarchy or social structures; they simply do not require them to create and perpetuate their own social existence.

* The equation of physical co-residence with a creation of community and social life at large, reveals itself to differing degrees in a range of Amazonian ethnography. A continuum may be discerned within the literature on household and settlement composition in particular. At one end lie cases of extreme dispersal of households, exemplified by the atomistic, household based society of the Achuar (Descola 1994:8-9). At the other lie physically concentrated communities predicated upon enduring relationships of co-residence and continued physicality (see McCallum 1989, Gow 1991, Belaunde 1992). Airo Pai persons and community, explains Belaunde, are created through enduring relations of mutuality and feeding. These relations are dependent upon shared co-residence in a village group over time.

Between these two extremes of dispersal and centralized physicality, lie societies such as those of the Guianas (see Rivière 1969, Overing 1975, Thomas 1982). These peoples are described as being concerned with prolonged physicality and the co-resident group as something which endures over time. Nevertheless the authors also stress the importance of a relatively high degree of mobility that endows resident group composition with a tendency for transition and fluidity. Thomas in particular, describes the mobile and

3Contrary to the suggestions made by Riester (1976) and Castillo (1988), I found no form of headmanship amongst the Tsimanes.
transitional quality of Pemón settlements whilst not negating the strength of a Pemón notion of community.

These ethnographies furthermore emphasize an absence of corporate groups that are said to be found amongst peoples of the North West Amazon (Goldman 1963, Hugh Jones 1979) and the Gê and Bororo (Maybury-Lewis 1979). They stress instead the extreme fluidity of social relations of these peoples. Peoples such as the Gê and Bororo perhaps represent the most formalized and explicit equation between physical space and social existence. For them, social categorization is actually mapped out on the physical lay-out of village structure and further enacted in ritual.

The above summary is indeed a slight simplification of the presentation of physicality of residence and community in the ethnographies cited. The Cubeo for example, are a people possessing a clear, physical village structure and a sense of corporateness predicated on the strength of fraternity (Goldman 1963). Goldman nevertheless emphasizes the Cubeo concern with the individual as superseding that of community, 'In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favour autonomy over linkage' (1963:277). Thomas (1982) also notes a Pemón stress on the household rather than community as being the cohesive unit of social organization. Rivière (1969) describes the mobility of the Trio population and a lack of corporate groups. Nevertheless, he simultaneously evokes an image of concentric circles, centring on the house and co-resident group to describe notions of 'inside' and 'outside', and of safety and danger for the Trio.

Whilst Tsimane social relationships do not equate with the extreme form of atomism described by Descola for the Achuar, they verge towards that end of the continuum proposed. Their social organization is highly fluid. Household and settlement composition is subject to abrupt and frequent change as individuals and families move to live and work with different groups of kin and affines. Settlements are usually small (consisting typically of two to three households lying in cluster) and often lie at considerable distances apart. Despite the fluidity of household and settlement composition, the moments experienced and enjoyed between kin during sometimes sporadic periods of co-residence, are extremely important, not in creating a sense of community, but in creating differing forms of sociality they consider necessary for social existence. Such fluidity in Tsimane settlement composition does not correspond to a simple equation between physical place and the safe 'inside' as that described for the Trio by Rivière.
However, one of the central concerns of the thesis will be to illuminate a Tsimane preoccupation with safety and nurturance. For the Tsimanes, these qualities of social existence have to be created daily and perpetually redefined. They do not always concern relationships between the same people living in the same place. Nor indeed do they only concern relationships with other human beings. Non-human beings similarly enter the arena of Tsimane social relationships. Both positive and negative qualities of the social state are experienced and played out between people temporarily co-resident, between people who may reside considerable distances apart, and between Tsimanes and an array of other co-residents, human and non-human, of their universe.

Social existence for the Tsimanes is predicated upon a careful creation of varying, interlocking forms of sociality. I use the word sociality in an expansive sense. It does not refer to one state or form of behaviour, but incorporates a variety of complementary and conflicting ways of being inherent in the very nature of social existence. The existence of various forms of sociality is recognized by the Tsimanes as inevitable to social living and as furthermore necessary for its perpetuation.

Whilst desirable forms of sociality are conducive to comfortable, safe, and generative social life, others render it difficult. As such, undesirable forms are considered essentially predatory and life negating. The concern of each Tsimane is to weave a way through differing forms of sociality as they are created and present themselves. A person ideally navigates a course which circumvents the inappropriate and dangerous ways of social living in favour of the nurturant and preferred. Tsimane sociality exists not as some uniform whole but instead as a series of states of being. It is the peripatetic oscillations between them which engenders appropriate and desirable social living.

By concentrating on forms of sociality as qualities of social existence which are disparately and temporarily created, I look away from notions of structure and a given relatedness of kinship towards a more processual approach. The way in which each individual creates forms of sociality and furthermore perceives them, is based upon the perception of subtle nuances of individual presence in the world revealed in phenomena such as body posture, voice level and general mood or atmosphere felt between a group of people present. Tsimane perceptions of these essences of social living arise from an understanding and reflection upon the minutest particularities of each individual's presence in the world.

Whilst a positive value is ascribed to certain kinds of presence and social behaviour, others are abhorred and avoided. Each individual in his or her daily activities, and in interactions with different people and non-human elements of the social universe, carries
implications which effect other social beings around him or her. He or she in turn is affected by the presence of others. Effects can be nurturant, generative and produce a conviviality enjoyed in specific circumstances. Others may be predatory, dangerous and life threatening. The issue to underline here is that all implications of an individual's presence in the world, whether they be generative or predatory have effect upon sociality. Sociality is not a single state of social existence but presents itself in varying conflicting and complementary forms.

The Tsimanes are explicit in articulating their ideas about inappropriate and appropriate individual social behaviour. These ideas, when pieced together, and perceived in relation to the minute details of Tsimane daily practice in their social world, create a delicate and profound aesthetics of social living, where the emphasis is upon achieving specific kinds of comfort in social relations. A Tsimane discourse on taste for what is preferred of the social other, or by contrast, abhorred, reveals poignant ideas about the very nature of social existence. Embodied in the idea of a correct or preferred sociality are morally loaded concepts about comfortable and uncomfortable behaviour; behaviour which engenders friction free situations, and that which renders them impossible. It is in such friction laden situations that the potential for comfort, intimacy and other factors which constitute a 'good life' dissolve.

* 

Taylor (1996), in her discussion of Jivaroan notions of selfhood, draws a comparison between French and English approaches to Amazonian sociality. What divides them, she believes is an English failing to fully consider the role of hostility and vindictiveness in creating sociality and personhood for Amazonian peoples. The 'English Americanists' she states, concentrate on relations of harmony and love, and in so doing, produce a 'surprisingly angelic' (p.206) account of their social existence. The French by contrast, recognize the role of hate in the creation of selfhood and social life, 'Hostility also feeds into the experience of self; it colours, just as much as love does, the texture of the body image as singularized by appearance, which, as we have seen, lies at the heart of Jivaroan selfhood' (ibid:207). I believe Taylor to be profoundly mistaken in her rather crude comparison of French and English approaches to Amazonian sociality and selfhood. Contrary to what Taylor surmises from the 'English Americanist' approach, one of their concerns has been precisely to uncover a raw awareness of the potential terror and danger implicit and explicit in social relationships amongst a number of Amazonian peoples.

The achievement of a 'good life' is not a banal, 'angelic' aim for these peoples.
Incorporated into notions of what it means to live well and comfortably, are vital ideas of what is correct, appropriate behaviour, and conversely, what is threateningly dangerous. Nor is the ideal 'good life' always achieved. Far too often, the dangerous and threatening nature of social existence intercedes. When social relationships momentarily go wrong, and predatory forces are provoked, the antithesis to comfortable sociality is inflicted in the forms of illness and death.

Amongst the Tsimanes, the achievement of generative, safe forms of sociality is only rendered possible by a meticulous and sensitive recognition of the ambivalence of human nature and social existence. By fully considering and understanding social facets such as anger, hate and hostility, each Tsimane individual finds the task of circumventing them easier (also see Overing 1984a, 1985, 1986b, Thomas 1982, Goldman 1963). Rather than turning a blind eye to hate, hostility and other predatory forces inherent in the social condition, 'English Americanists' reveal that the peoples concerned to be only too painfully aware of the pros and cons of social existence.

The necessity of dangerous predation to social existence is a theme often discussed in Amazonian ethnography (Overing (Kaplan) 1977, 1981, 1984b, 1986b, 1993b, Arhem 1996, Gow 1991). Overing (Kaplan) recognized the necessity of simultaneously creative and dangerous powers of difference for cultural existence amongst the Piaroa. In a comparative article addressing a number of Amazonian societies (1981), she discusses the varying ways in which some peoples from the North West Amazon, the Gê and some Guianese peoples, deal with the power and potential danger of difference. Amongst the Gê and Bororo for example, difference is ever played out in ritual, and is evident in the physical composition of villages bisected by moiety systems (Maybury Lewis 1979, Crocker 1985). Peoples of the Guianas in contrast, possess no rituals or complicated spatial organizations to express the differences inherent in their societies. As Overing Kaplan states, 'There exists no ritual to declare the elaborate interlocking of the units of which society is comprised. To sight, Guianese social groups are atomistic, dispersed and highly fluid in form' (1981:332). She recognizes however, that despite these apparently dramatic contrasts between Gê and Guianese peoples for example, there underlies a 'unitary principle of society' which is precisely the power of difference. 'The principle of social life to which I am referring is the idea that society can exist only in so far as there is contact and proper mixing among entities and forces that are different from one another' (ibid:333). Such difference, she argues, is associated with danger. But it is a danger which is crucial for social existence. Gow (1991) similarly discusses the necessary mixing of difference in his discussion of marriage for the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba where the stress is on marriage between 'different kinds of people'. The theme of the violence of generative powers can be seen in other domains as well. For
instance, the Makuna hunter only renders further fertility and procreation of game
possible by means of violent acts of predation (see Arhem 1996).

As amongst the Piaroa, fertile and predatory forms of Tsimane sociality are recognized as
being mutually constitutive of each other. Life without danger would be sterile and
unproductive. The issue to underline in the case of the Tsimanes, is that social existence,
made manifest in differing forms of sociality, is ever linked with life generating and life
depleting potential. Neither aspect of social living may be avoided, as each constitutes the
other in an oscillating progression. What is aimed at however, is the harnessing of social
forces which are conducive of safety, comfort and conviviality. This is best achieved
through carefully gauging and avoiding those forces which pose a threat to this desirable
forms of social existence.

In the same article cited above, Taylor (1996) notes how Achuar persons are constituted
by a 'repertoire of different states of being' (p.211). 'Being a person is thus an array or
cline of relational configurations, a set of links in a chain of metamorphoses
simultaneously open and bounded. The chain is open because death itself is an endless
process, as is the shift from 'we' to 'they" (ibid:210). It is particularly illuminating to
also understand Tsimane sociality in terms of a 'repertoire of states of being', whereby
persons oscillate between preferred and non-desired states, as inevitable constituents of
the social condition. Social existence may be both enjoyed and suffered in the switches
between desired and loathed or uncomfortable ways of being.

As such, it is difficult to perceive of a Tsimane social system as closed or self-fulfilling.
It would be wrong to suggest that oscillations between that which is life generating and
that which is life removing create a neat and closed structure. Both energies are played
and negotiated with towards a hopeful end of appropriate, safe living. Preferred states of
social existence are only sometimes achieved, in the temporary, fleeting moments of
intimacy and safety.

It is clear then that the Tsimanes understand sociality as a series of processual
transformations, and not as a discernible solid form or structure. Sahlins (1985) draws a
distinction between what he terms 'performative' and 'prescriptive' societies. Whilst
'performative' societies are continually created and reevaluated by their individuals,
'prescriptive' societies behave according to 'rules', statuses, and associated obligations.
Speaking of the role of 'love' in Hawaiian society at the time of the arrival of Captain
Cook, Sahlins explains why the society at this time was 'performative'. 'Hawaiian
society was not a world of determinate kinship groups and prescribed relationships, of
presupposed forms and norms, as in the good anthropological tradition of corporate
lineages and prescribed marriage rules. Not simply that the system was, technically speaking, complex. It was performative; rather literally a 'state of affairs', created by the very acts that signified it. From family to state, the arrangements of society were in constant flux, a set of relationships constructed on the shifting sands of love' (p.19).

A particularly interesting issue in the case of the Tsimanes is the apparent 'performative' fluidity of their social relationships and creation of sociality at large, juxtaposed with a relatively rigid adherence to a marriage preference. I argue however, that this juxtaposition, rather than producing a contradictory state of affairs, is one which is efficient and dialectical. The Tsimane marriage preference I suggest, is more a matter of achieving marital relations that signify safety and conviviality, than adherence to a rule or the requirement to marry a category. The adherence to the preference actually facilitates the creation of preferred forms of sociality. It does this by restricting social interaction to within the realm of the known and familiar. In some cases, it expands the very boundaries of the known and familiar. It will be revealed that it is the high value attributed by the Tsimanes upon their mobility between differing groups of kin and affines, that most efficiently allows for the dialectical progression between apparently rigid and fluid social configurations.

A theme presented above and that which permeates the thesis, is one of oscillation and peripatetics. The Tsimane do not present social existence as a static achievement. Instead, it is the processual result of a series of ongoing transformations. Transitional movements may be discerned in Tsimane social life, as individuals move between different sets of kin and affines, or as they carefully negotiate their way between threatening and desirable social presence. Notions of difference, of alterity, do not only distinguish Tsimanes from non-Tsimanes or non-human beings. Difference is constantly recognized by each individual in his or her daily interactions with others, and thus alterity is firmly rooted in the very nature of social existence. The transformations occurring between differing social states, themselves create an array of forms of sociality necessary for social living. Being in the world implies experiencing and creating flux and process. Social relationships for the Tsimanes are never a given state of affairs, predicated on assumed relationships of kinship or corporateness (as Sahlin's 'Prescriptive' case would have it). They have to be continually re-assessed and recreated. The process of creation involves a meticulous awareness of every being's potential fertility and danger. Successful social living in safe, comfortable forms of sociality is dependent upon appropriating generative forms of life's potencies. Generation by definition is dangerous, thus the attainment of safe sociality is always processual, and also approximate.
In everyday talk, the Tsimane constantly reflect upon their social world. Their discourse on transformative states of being essentially amounts to delicate treatises on social ethics. It creates a subtle but potent aesthetics of living which both reflects upon differing facets of the social condition and in turn, creates them.

Without unravelling in detail what constitutes for the Tsimanes, preferred and avoided ways of being, it is enough to comment here that a social presence coloured by carefully mastered discretion is considered by the Tsimanes to be the most safe and attractive presence for others. In contrast, presence textured by impingement, encountered perhaps in loud, angry voices or strong bodily odours are deemed a threat to safe sociality. Such presences provoke anger in human and non-human others and thus dangerous retaliation. This division is of course in part artificial and simplified, representing, as it were, Tsimane 'ideal types' of behaviour and etiquette. A central concern of the thesis will be to describe Tsimane social ethics and notions of taste, and illustrate the force an aesthetics of social living may have in both reflecting upon and creating the specific sociality. It is necessary to underline the potency of the Tsimane discourse on taste. Inappropriate forms of social living are not only undesirable because they are unattractive and uncomfortable to experience. They are also a sign of latent violence, of danger and hostility, which may, and often does reveal itself in the unsavoury and destructive presence of illness and death.

The Tsimane discourse on etiquette, on preferred and abhorred ways of being not only reflects but creates difference. Tsimane taste is a social convention which distinguishes Tsimanes from other beings of their social universe. More than this, taste and a discourse on social ethics define and create distinctions of different ways of socializing, of differing ways of carrying oneself in the social world. Alterity is not only recognized in relation to other beings, but each individual him or herself actually embodies relations of difference. As I have emphasized, social existence is created as a processual endeavour through oscillating transformations between relations of difference. Some are preferred and deemed attractive and correct, whilst others are abhorred and considered as inappropriate styles of being. In this case, the appraisal of difference is not socially stratifying. Whilst the Tsimanes may sometimes find difference to be uncomfortable, they also understand it to be necessary for social existence as a whole.

---

4For Bourdieu (1984), aesthetics not only maps out distinction between different social classes in French society, but furthermore maintains a hierarchy in difference. Bourdieu attacks doctrines of what he understands to be pure, Kantian aesthetics, arguing that in French society at least, aesthetic judgement exploits 'taste' for a social purpose (see also Miller 1987, Douglas 1982).
Tsimane aesthetics firmly positions their notions of judgement and taste in the minute experiences of daily living. Not all aesthetics stress the everyday in this way. Although there is some discrepancy about what is posited by Kant in his first and third critiques of aesthetic judgement (see Weiner (ed) 1994), it is generally understood that a Kantian sense of aesthetics is of one which is 'essentialist' and transcendental of social living. Gadamer (1975, 1986) elegantly criticizes such an abstracted view of aesthetics and argues for the more general (historical) case to be an aesthetics situated in the world.

Overing (1989), following the clue provided by Gadamer on the social and moral situatedness of pre-Kantian aesthetics in our own history, positions aesthetics for the Piaroa, not as a removed, asocial sensibility, but as firmly situated within Piaroa social life, '...we have barely begun the process of following through the implications, both theoretical and practical, of such an entanglement of the everyday with aesthetic judgement and activity. It is my argument...that for us to understand what 'the social' is for the amerindians of the South American rain forest, we must return to our former understanding where aesthetics was not the autonomous category it is today, but a political and moral one. It is only when we reinteegrate aesthetic judgement with the morally good and the morally bad, and both judgement and morality with productive knowledge and activity, that we can begin to say sensible things about the economy, the polity, and the social philosophy of these peoples' (p.159).

The way in which I discuss a Tsimane sense of aesthetics shows it to be similarly embedded in their perceptions and experiences of everyday social life. Moreover, I argue that their sense of aesthetic judgement and discourse on taste is actually productive of sociality.

One of the most prominent aspects of an individual's presence in the world is gauged by the Tsimanes in terms of the mood or affectivity of a specific social relationship or situation. The skills of perception of mood and the correctness of one's own, constitute a main element of a Tsimane aesthetics of social living. A concern with appropriateness of mood or affectivity operates amongst a number of Amazonian peoples (see Rivière 1969, Goldman 1963, Overing 1989, 1993a). Goldman and Overing in particular, stress that an 'appropriate atmosphere of good feeling' (Goldman 1963:2) and a related high morale lie at the heart of successful relations of co-living for the Cubeo and Piaroa respectively. Overing describes how the material wealth of a Piaroa community results from high morale. Successful social relations and relations of production rest on upholding morale and amity, rather than upon political or economic advantage. Or as Goldman explains, 'An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own social health' (ibid:53). The Cubeo reveal 'A low tolerance
For psychic discomfort... Collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling... That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity, the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it' (ibid:280).

Perhaps the Pemon (Thomas 1982) reactions to 'psychic discomfort' may be perceived as most akin to those of the Tsimanes. The Pemon, like the Cubeo, prefer to move away from a breakdown in congeniality rather than to face its consequences or attempt to improve the situation. Their dispersal of kindred groups, argues Thomas best allows for this option, in a way very similar to that for the Tsimanes. 'Even given the Pemon suspicion of strangers, every individual is glad to have an 'out'. In short, the personal kindred acts toward the end of dispersion, even in the face of an ideal of concentration of near relatives' (1982:84).

Uncomfortable moods or incorrect affectivity are perceived in particular, by the Tsimanes, as angry presence. Anger and its associated danger not only deplete the possibility of congenial and safe socializing, but further incur sorcery, illness and death. Inappropriate affectivity for the Tsimanes, threatens a generative, convivial social existence and it is best avoided by a rapid move away.

* 

In attributing responsibility to each individual in his or her creation of forms of sociality, a high degree of personal autonomy, and an emphasis upon personal agency and intention is valued by the Tsimanes. The issue of personal autonomy has been raised in a number of Amazonian ethnographies (see Thomas 1982, Rivièrè 1984, Overing 1984a, Viveiros de Castro 1992). An assertion of personal autonomy for the Pemon, for example, is crucial to their social order, 'Order is seen to be a result, paradoxically, of the minimization of hierarchy and the emphasis on personal autonomy which characterize Pemon life' (1982:5). Viveiros de Castro underlines the strength of individual will which supersedes Araweté collectivity or 'general will', to the extent that any form of 'collective action' is difficult to initiate or raise out of the inertia of daily life (pp.109-111).

The way autonomy is used in these ethnographies, and the way in which I use it to describe a creation of preferred Tsimane sociality, should not be confused with certain traits of western individualism, where it appears as a highly asocial individual condition.

See Lukes 1973 for a full discussion of different interpretations of western individualism. MacPherson (1962) discusses what he terms the 'possessive individualism' of seventeenth century political thought, exemplified, he believes, by
The personal autonomy described in Amazonian ethnography and here for the Tsimanes, is not an atomistic, ego-centred, essentially asocial model of individualism. Rather it is a highly other regarding state. Rather than being against society, it is through personal autonomy that sociality is created and perpetuated. Sociality is not opposed to the individuals who constitute society, but is in fact created and experienced by self-conscious, other regarding individuals.

Successful socializing or the art of living appropriately amongst others, is a capability or a series of capabilities, to be acquired and mastered to differing degrees by every Tsimane individual. Knowing best how to socialize appropriately is a delicate matter. It involves a careful gauging and understanding of social etiquette. Social knowledge for the Tsimanes is not a commodity to be appropriated to the ends of exploiting nature (see Descola 1994) or human social relations. Rather, social knowledge for the Tsimanes, enables an individual to know best how to negotiate most appropriately and efficiently between an array of life generating and life depleting forces, as they present themselves in everyday social living. Ideally, the nurturant qualities of social existence are condoned and appropriated and those which are predatory and life threatening circumvented.

Apart from learning how to best navigate a course through the fertile and predatory potencies of others, each individual simultaneously must learn him/herself, how to socialize appropriately. Mastering ways to appropriately socialize, involves careful consideration of the implications of one's own presence amidst others. As I have suggested and will develop throughout the thesis, the most appropriate form of socializing is considered by the Tsimanes to be action textured by soft discretion.

It is social knowledge that facilitates the transformations described above between that which is dangerous and threatening and that which is safe and intimate. Such transitions, I argue, further foster human intention, thus enabling people to act with the full potential of their agency and control in the world. In this way, people are best able to appropriate the generative, nutritive elements of social life and are recognized for their mastery. A loss of intention leads to disastrous implications made manifest in the suffering of illness and death. Illness and death, I argue, are primarily a result of a loss of human intention in the social world.

* * *

Hobbes. This form of individualism is presented as being essentially asocial as every man's powers are opposed to every other man's - something MacPherson describes as a 'full possessive market model of society' (ibid:264).
Locating the Tsimanes:
The Tsimanes occupy an extensive area lying within the Ballivián and Yacuma Provinces of the Department of Beni, Lowland Bolivia. They live, hunt, fish, and practice slash and burn agriculture throughout the region which stretches from the foothills of the Andes to the edges of the expansive Moxos savannah (14°35'S -15°30'S; 66°23'W - 67°10'W). Their habitat ranges from wet to moist sub-tropical forest east from the Andes, and gallery forests which extend into the savannah regions (see Map 1).

Settlements are typically situated next to rivers where water, fish and preferred agricultural sites may be secured. The highest density of Tsimane settlements are found scattered along the Maniquí river and its numerous tributaries (see Map 2). Many other settlements are found, however, along the Curibaba, Matos, Quiquibey, Colorado, Apere, and Chevejecure rivers. These rivers flow into the Mamoré river which feeds into the river Madeira, a principal tributary of the Amazon river.

According to recent estimates (Comisión Socio-Económica 1989), the Tsimane number between five and six thousand people. Their settlements consist typically of small, scattered, clusters of two to three households related by close consanguineal and affinal links. In areas of missionary influence, however, a tendency for centralized agglomerations of household clusters may be discerned. I suggest that to account for the apparent relative centralization of these 'missionized' settlements as being a result of missionary influence alone, would be an oversimplification of Tsimane preferences for residence and marriage (see chapters three and four). Whilst obvious differences with regards to centralization and settlement size are apparent between varying 'missionized' and 'non-missionized' locations, these are not to be seen as absolute. Instead I suggest that the circumstances offered by the New Tribes and the Redemptorists (see below) result in apparently different manifestations of similar ideals relating to marriage and residence.

The Tsimanes form an isolated linguistic family with the neighbouring Mosetene6 (Plaza

---

6The relationship between the Tsimanes and Mosetenes has been a matter of considerable debate. Some authors consider these peoples, essentially separated today, to originate from one and the same group of people (see Pérez-Diez 1989, Aldazábal 1988, Castillo 1988). They believe that the only factor differentiating the Tsimanes from the Mosetenes is the success the Jesuits had in reducing the Mosetenes into missions during the seventeenth century. The Mosetenes today live in and around the missions of San Miguel de Muchanes (founded 1804), Santa Ana (founded 1815) and Covendo (1842) which are now run by the Catholic Redemptorist Missionaries. As I will discuss, missionary efforts with the Tsimanes have met with considerably less success.
literature about the apparently shared identity of the Mosetenes and Tsimanes. This he puts down to the considerable amounts of movement and marriages occurring between the two peoples\(^9\).

It was the Jesuits who had most success in establishing contact with the indigenous peoples of this part of lowland Bolivia. San Borja, which is the nearest market town for the Tsimanes, was the sixth Jesuit mission founded in 1693 on the Maniquí River by Francisco de Borja and Ignacio de Sotomayor (see Altamirano 1699). Altamirano's account again describes the almost impossible task of maintaining Tsimanes in the Mission for any extended period of time.

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from Bolivia in 1767, and the subsequent disappearance of their missions, no further reference is made to the Tsimanes until the early nineteenth century. New contact was made with the Tsimanes in the early 1800's by Father Andres Herrero (see Mendizabal 1932 and Cardús 1886). In Cardús's words, 'Los Chimanes pertenecen a la tribu de los Mosetenes: son overos y hablan como ellos la misma lengua. A principios de este siglo parece que el Padre Herrero habia establecido amistosas relaciones con los Chimanes, pero no pudo entretenerse entre ellos para su conversión' (1886:289)\(^10\). The two Franciscan missions of San Pedro and San Pablo were founded amongst the Tsimanes in the 1840's, south-east of San Borja. One was abandoned following an epidemic of smallpox and the other deserted in 1862 when Father Emilio Reynaud was murdered by the 'infideles' (see Cardús 1886, Sanz 1913, Barrado Manzano 1945).

\(^9\)Intermarriage continues between the Tsimanes and Mosetenes today and the Tsimanes consider the Mosetenes their relatives. Daillant (1994) even finds genealogical evidence for a past, shared kinship and naming system between the two peoples. She also mentions that whilst Tsimane mythology circulates around the activities of two hero-cum-clown brothers Micha' and Dojity, and their acts of creation, that of the Mosetene only involves Dojity (1994:89 and for more specific detail of Mosetene mythology, see Caspar 1953). It is interesting also to note that the Mosetenes are the only non-Tsimane people recognized as 'real people' or muntyi' by the Tsimanes (see Chapter eight for a discussion of this term of self-reference).

\(^10\)The Chimanes belong to the Mosetene tribe; they are brown skinned and speak the same language. It seems that at the beginning of this century, Father Herrero established friendly relations with the Chimanes, but was unable to remain amongst them long enough to convert them' (my translation).
The Tsimanes Today:

New missionary processes did not occur again with the Tsimanes until the 1950's when the Redemptorist Catholic priests founded a mission on the Upper Maniqui and the New Tribes Missionaries began work near San Borja. The Redemptorist mission was founded in 1953 at CaraCara by Father Marcelino Hagner, but was then translated to the Tsimane river as Mission Fátima, where Father Marcelino was replaced by Father Martin Bauer in 1958. Father Martin continues to live and work at Fátima today, where he has established a chapel, shop, school and sanitary post. After abandoning his ambitious plans for Tsimane involvement in cattle ranching, he now owns less than one hundred cows. Today there exists a nucleus of households surrounding the mission but numerous Tsimanes travel in from the vicinity to use the mission's facilities and to sell their products to the priest.

The New Tribes Missionaries have two 'headquarters'. One is on the Maniqui river at La Cruz and the other Horeb, is situated three kilometres from San Borja on the road to La Paz. In 1994, the New Tribes Missionaries were running approximately twenty bilingual schools scattered in settlements along the Maniqui river and its lower tributaries. At least one bilingual teacher trained by the missionaries is normally assigned to each school. The New Tribes Missionaries also played a central role in forming a Tsimane political representative organization, the Gran Consejo Tsimane, in 1989.

The creation of a political representative body for the Tsimanes was perceived as all the more necessary due to the increase of various encroachments on Tsimane territory since the 1970's. The last two decades have witnessed an intensified colonization of Tsimane lands, as elsewhere in Amazonia, accompanied with a variety of efforts from development projects. Many Tsimane settlements, especially those near to San Borja and between Yucumo and Rurrenebaque, have faced competition for land and more and more Tsimanes find temporary employment in cattle ranching, agriculture and the ever expanding logging business.

Another aspect of contemporary interaction between the Tsimanes and national Bolivians is their somewhat ambivalent relationships with itinerant river tradesmen (comerciantes) operating from San Borja. Numerous 'comerciantes' reach the most remote of Tsimane riverine settlements, in boats full of goods to barter with the Tsimanes. Most goods are exchanged for 'jatata', a woven palm roofing material which is sold for at least four times the bought value in San Borja. The Tsimanes living closest

11In the 1970's, the Tsimane forests were opened up as rich logging areas especially for mahogany (see CIDDEBENI 1990 and CDC 1989 for full details of the logging history in the Bosque Chimane).
to San Borja, and some enterprising individuals and families from further up or down river, also travel in to town to sell their products.

**Fieldwork Location and Methodology:**
I carried out fieldwork with the Tsimanes for varying lengths of time during the period from December 1991 to August 1994. I lived in and travelled between three contrasting settlements. I arrived first at Yucumo, which is considered by the New Tribes Missionaries, to be the most successful and organized of all the settlements under their influence. I then lived between the settlements scattered from Pachene to Buñi which are not directly affected by missionary influence. Throughout my stay with the Tsimanes I also worked for shorter periods at Fátima, the Catholic Redemptorist Mission. My time spent there proved invaluable in clarifying issues raised by my fieldwork in the other two locations.

Whilst I lived with the Tsimanes, I participated in varying activities of their everyday life. I went on a number of hunting and fishing expeditions with them, helped in their gardens and with general domestic chores. Along with considerable help from the New Tribes' English/Tsimane dictionary and grammar course, the Tsimanes gradually taught me their language which I eventually spoke with proficiency. Apart from participant observation, I carried out more intensive census and genealogical surveys in all the settlements where I stayed. I also collected a large body of myths and songs which unfortunately are not included in this thesis, but will be used in later work.

**Yucumo**
Three 'zones' Boca de Yucumo, Campamento de Yucumo and Maraca, exist within the vicinity of the river Yucumo (see Map 3 and Fig. 3 and Fig. 3b provided in chapter three). Residence patterns in this area consist of relatively dispersed households along parts of the Yucumo and Maniqui rivers. Although households are scattered, certain clusterings may be discerned and each cluster lies at some distance from the next (varying

12Relationships between the Tsimanes and the river tradesmen are usually tenuous and highly exploitative of the Tsimanes. See Rioja 1990 for detailed analysis of a Tsimane involvement in the 'Jatata' market. Conservación Internacional Bolivia initiated a project with the Tsimanes to encourage them to bybass river traders and sell their valuable 'Jatata' directly to merchants in San Borja. In 1993 the project was no longer in operation. See also Diez Astete (1988), Castillo (1988), and Bogado (1989) for a more detailed discussion of Tsimane relations with national Bolivians living in and around their territory. Chicchón 1992 analyzes in particular, the Tsimane entry into and use of the national market.
from a ten minute walk to one and a half hours). Households pertaining to each cluster share close consanguineal and affinal links which are also extended to other clusters within the Yucumo region. Although visiting occurs between the household clusters of Yucumo during the week, the only 'centralized' or intense social activity occurs on Sundays when members of dispersed clusters gather for 'church' in the school building. During the dry season (April to October), children from most households attend school. It could be suggested that if it were not for the New Tribes school the clusters would be situated at greater distances apart and would not come into such frequent contact.

**Pachene-Buñi**

Settlements along this stretch of the Upper Maniqui river and its tributaries are small and scattered at considerable distances from one another (see Map 4 and Fig. 4 provided in chapter three). A settlement rarely exceeds three households and each one is about one day's travel (up river) from the next. Close consanguineal and affinal links are shared between both the households of specific clusters, and between the clusters extending from Pachene to Buñi. Whilst in the vicinity of Yucumo, visiting between settlements is a daily occurrence, often not occupying more than an hour of time, a visit along the Upper Maniqui may involve several days or weeks and often coincides with major beer production and distribution. Fieldwork was carried out in households one to eight, with brief periods also spent in Anachere and Buñi to cross-check genealogical and residential information obtained in the above mentioned households.

**Fátima**

The composition of the settlements surrounding the Catholic Mission is unique in that household clusters are situated extremely nearby to each other, and the residents do not necessarily share close consanguineal and affinal links (see Map 5 and Fig. 5 and Fig. 5b in chapter three). Most members of the clusters situated closest to the Mission buildings attend church on Sundays, which is also the only day on which the small shop opens. Tsimanes from more distant clusters also come to the Mission to sell agricultural produce to the Priest, to buy goods from the shop, and to use the pharmacy. Social interaction between Tsimanes who do not share close kinship links is relatively intense at Fátima. Such flexibility in socializing with non-kin is extremely rare in all other Tsimane settlements I encountered. As I have emphasized, these other settlements only consist of people sharing close kinship relationships. Furthermore, radical alterations to the prescriptive marriage rule, which is followed throughout the rest of Tsimane territory, have influenced both patterns of marriage and residence at Fátima since the 1950's (see Chapter four).
The emphasis of this thesis is upon present day Tsimane social relations. I am aware however, of a number of suggestions appearing in the literature, that Tsimane kinship terminology, marriage preferences, and residence patterns may have changed considerably over the last one hundred years (see Wegner (1930, 1931), Hissink & Hahn (1989), Daillant (1994)). I cannot dispute Daillant’s contentions that the Tsimanes once possessed a Kariera system of kinship and marriage for example. Nor can I question whether or not they used to live in endogamous, circular villages as she suggests (see Daillant 1994: 120-125, 479-524).13

During my final days of living in one Tsimane settlement, an old man spoke tantalizingly of changes he had witnessed in Tsimane kinship and marriage during his lifetime. He briefly mentioned that the surnames used by the Tsimanes today were mostly ’new’. The ’old people’ or urucyas muntyi’, not only possessed quite different names to those used today, but marriage partners ideally shared the same name. He and his ex-wife for example, were both of the same surnames14. Hissink and Hahn (1989) also mention a rite of passage they witnessed in the 1950’s, whereby a name other than that received from the father was passed down to each Tsimane individual. Unfortunately, I was never able to follow up on this scant information. I am aware nevertheless that it does not contradict Daillant’s thesis (see pp.480-489 in particular). If expanded with further historical information and analyzed profoundly, the comments of this old man could offer considerable insight, at least into past Tsimane social configurations, and perhaps into the implications these hold for Tsimane social relationships today. I stress however, that my interest in this thesis is not to explore a possible history of Tsimane kinship. I am concerned primarily to approach Tsimane understandings and creations of differing forms of sociality today.

13References are made by both Wegner (1931) and Hissink & Hahn (1989) to ’signs’ or emblems observed on the robes of certain Tsimane individuals. A number of older Tsimanes verified to me, that indeed ’patterns’ used to be painted on their clothes. However, I found no one willing to extrapolate upon this issue. It could be surmised (and Daillant develops upon this point), that the emblems used to designate some form of group membership.

14A number of unions between men and women of the same surnames have occurred since 1958 in the Catholic Mission of Fátima (see Chapter four).
Thesis Outline:
Each chapter of the thesis addresses different but related issues concerning Tsimane forms of sociality. In Chapter two I discuss the central importance of movement in rendering desired forms of sociality possible. I explore in particular, the relationship drawn by the Tsimanes, between mobility and knowledge acquisition. In Chapter three I present a detailed analysis of Tsimane residence patterns briefly outlined above. I analyse the role of multiple residence preferences in stimulating frequent movements of married couples between settlements. In Chapter four I explore Tsimane prescriptive marriage, again within a context of movement. In Chapter five I discuss Tsimane 'emotion talk'. I look at the role their particular concern with anger has in both attributing value to differing forms of socializing, and in actually creating varying form of sociality.

In Chapter six I move from the previous emphasis on humanly social relations, to consider Tsimane social relations with non-human beings co-habiting their universe. In Chapter seven I explore Tsimane relationships revolving around eating and drinking activities. I discuss the contrasting roles food and drink production and consumption have in creating and defining forms of sociality. Within this context, I address questions of gender and conjugality. Finally, in Chapter eight I consider the implications of not achieving desired forms of sociality. I look in particular at Tsimane notions of corporeality, illness and death.
CHAPTER TWO: THE PERIPATETIC NATURE OF KNOWING AND MOVING

After several months of living with the Tsimanes, Lorencia, an elderly woman living at Pachene, turned to me and asked, 'A ca chi' mi chäbij?'. Whilst she asked me this question (unintelligible to me), she gently struck her neck and then her calves with two fingers. Realizing my ignorance, she explained that all Tsimanes 'know how to chäbij'. She patiently described a throbbing feeling she and others sometimes feel, either in their necks or calves of their legs. It is this soft pulsating feeling which is known as chäbij and is understood as a sign that kin are travelling towards one. The approach of kin is thus physically felt. They may be arriving by canoe on the river or through the forest, along narrow pathways. Lorencia was surprised that I did not know how to chäbij. She remarked that we (white people), of course had radios to communicate our intentions of moving and visiting. Chäbij, she said, was like a radio transmission - 'Jeñej mensaje'1.

This incident introduces two central issues to be developed in the present chapter and throughout the thesis. Firstly, Tsimane ideas and practice relating to mobility proved to underlie fundamentally important facets of their social lives. In the following chapters, ideas of what constitutes preferred, desirable forms of sociality will be unravelled and explored. I argue that it is the movement of oneself and others which provides a means for a fluidity of social relations. Such flux and elasticity are profoundly necessary for preferred and safe social living. In turn, movement is itself a desirable and enjoyed end; a result of a fluid, oscillating form of social living.

Secondly, I suggest that Lorencia's comment above encapsulates the idea that knowledge is essentially acquired and articulated corporeally2. People know and experience the world around them through their bodily presence in it. Bodies furthermore leave their mark; they

---

1 Lorencia was the first of several Tsimanes to ask me if I 'knew how to chäbij'.
2 In speaking of corporeality, bodily and sensual experience, I stress that such ideas are not limited to western ideas of material existence. Being in the world and sensual experience of it, for the Tsimanes, is not restricted perhaps to how we envisage our physical existence. This becomes particularly apparent when ideas of bodily metamorphosis, dreaming, wandering segments of persons are considered. Incorporated thus into Tsimane ideas of embodiment and physicality is a much more fluid and extensive understanding of existence. I realize that to fully explore the constituents and implications of such an understanding would be a fascinating area of study which is simply beyond the bounds of the present piece of work. Such a type of analysis would clearly lend itself to a phenomenological approach and full considerations of the work of Merleau Ponty (1962), Heidegger (1971) and Bourdieu (1977) amongst others. A fuller consideration of the senses in bodily experience and knowledge acquisition would also be interesting (see Stoller 1989).
imprint their implications upon the world. They are therefore a crucial factor in the careful navigations undertaken by each Tsimane between the nurturant and predatory elements of the social universe. Chapters seven and eight both explore more specifically, the negative and positive elements of bodily presence in relation to ideas of nurturance and illness. The present chapter reveals in more general terms, the ways in which Tsimanes acquire knowledge through sensual feeling and embodiment of a variety of forces surrounding them. They do this most fully I suggest, through the movements of self and others. Such knowledge proves to be profoundly necessary for successful dealings with an essentially ambivalent social world.

*'

'Aty tacya' bā'yi yu, aty jam sóbaqui, a nash jam chij yu'. This comment or series of comments roughly translating as 'I remain still now, I no longer travel and visit, thus I no longer know', rung familiar after I had lived some time with the Tsimanes. It would usually be a reaction to questions about kin, their well being and whereabouts, or about places and non-human beings I had heard about in the forest and distant hills. The constant juxtaposition of states of 'tacya' bā'yi' and 'pai' nati" -'he/she remains still' and 'he/she wanders or moves around' proved to be a way of describing people's lifestyles and concerns. Those who lived in a wandering fashion were deemed to 'really know' - 'anic chij' about the goings on in their world. Whilst those of restricted movement, most often as a result of many young children, illness or the consequences of old age, would invariably shrug their shoulders saying 'I no longer know, I'm stuck here, you should ask someone who wanders'.

However, to talk of such a direct relationship drawn between movement and knowledge is somewhat extreme and simplistic. It is not only the active movement of an individual which places him/her in an ideal situation to learn and to know. It is the continual perception of movements by those still in their houses, or those meandering up or down river, and the circulation of gossip carried by travellers, which in part create an understanding of the universe. Movement of others is constantly gauged and commented upon. The initial perception of movement, followed by the invoking of memory in the recounting of movements of others, as well as oneself, create the networks of knowledge to be described through the chapter. Understanding movement, its practice and the perception of others of its nature, lies at the heart of a view of Tsimane understandings of, and dealings with their universe.
When I was planning my first visit to the Tsimanes, a Bolivian anthropologist who had briefly worked with them mentioned that the first word I would probably learn and most frequently hear over the months to come was *sóbaqui* which he translated into Spanish as *pasear*. It is a difficult word to translate into English probably because of its polysemic nature. Put most simply, it means to travel with a purpose, to visit someone, see something, hang out or wander for the sake of doing so. Throughout the thesis I frequently scatter words such as movement, mobility and visiting but I will first explore what is incorporated into these various meanings of *sóbaqui*.

Visiting to see a place or a person or hearing about it or him/her in the form of gossip, renders it known and potentially safer. This is important in a social world which is fickle and manifests both dangerous and nurturant potential. Safety is created by the appropriation of generative elements of the social world. This in turn depends upon an individual's knowledge and experience of kin or of parts of the environment and the multiple beings which dwell within it.

Whilst living with the Tsimanes, I sensed a constant fear and apprehension in the face of both human and non-human relationships. Learning how to *sóbaqui*, learning how to visit, travel and explore, leads to an acquisition of knowledge and experience which enables an individual to shed some of this fear. The level or kind of knowledge to which I was most exposed and most clearly understood, was that of each individual acquiring the know-how or capabilities to live well in the number of interlocking social levels of his/her world. This know-how I understood to be especially accessible through the senses, principally seeing. Such capabilities enable each person, to different degrees, to both understand the surrounding social world, and to act skillfully and appropriately in it.

In each facet of Tsimane life described below in terms of different forms of *sóbaqui*, I prioritize Tsimane experience and understanding of the minutiae of daily life as contributing to and constituting each individual's perception and eventual knowledge of his/her surrounding world. It must be stressed that the minutiae of daily life, and an individual's perception of them are forever changing. They are constantly remembered, reperceived and renegotiated. Very little in the Tsimane universe or in their perception of it appears fixed. This applies as much to household composition and relationships of co-residence as it does to forest pathways and river meanders.

The *sóbaqui* contexts to be introduced here, and developed in later chapters, involve

---

3Chapter six explores the wider implications of 'social' existence. Social living is not only that experienced by and between human beings. Non-humans simultaneously co-exist with the Tsimanes in a partially shared social world.

4See chapters six and eight for a discussion of the value ascribed to visual capabilities.
intimate engagement of individuals with close and distant kin, with the rivers, rocks, forest and hills, and the many beings which roam their surface and live deep within. The movements involved in these differing forms of sobaquí provide the most efficient and enjoyable ways of negotiating appropriate social relationships with both human and non-human beings.

* 

A number of Amazonian ethnographies, perhaps best exemplified here by Rivière (1969, 1984, 1993) and Descola (1986) evoke an image of concentric circles centering on the house to explain notions of 'inside' and 'outside', of safety and danger for the peoples concerned. The Tsimane notions of 'inside' and 'outside' do not correlate with an image of concentric circles as suggested by Rivière for the Trio and other Guianese peoples and by Descola for the Achuar. The Tsimanes themselves never speak in terms of inside and outside. Such concepts are expressed in their discourse and practice relating to preferred and less desirable, intrusive behaviour. The construction and maintenance of safe and appropriate ways of socializing are an individual affair which is forever redefined. Thus the 'inside' may be perceived as tendrils or pathways extending from the individual outwards in a series of criss crossing routes both through an individual's kindred network and through the intricate mesh of forest paths and waterways throughout the Tsimane territory.

Physical distance does not always imply the unknown and dangerous for the Tsimanes, although it can do. In chapter six I suggest that distant hunting grounds are feared and rendered safer through intimate knowledge and experience of them. This is true, but what should also be noted is that a rock outcrop lying across the river from a settlement is also feared and avoided. Potential dangers of ambivalent forces may lie very close to home and have to be constantly negotiated. The same can be said of humanly social relationships. Upon planning a river trip, I would receive a series of warnings about the dangers of distant peoples. However I also noted a fear, suspicion and avoidance of settlements relatively close to home inhabited by non-kin or people not intimately known. These people were suspected for their abilities to become angry and sorcerize. Even close kin, upon a manifestation of anger or similarly uncontrolled behaviour, are avoided. They may (temporarily at least), no longer lie within the ever changing confines of an individual's safe inside. This suggests that forms of sociality and kinship itself are predicated not upon prescribed 'rules' or fixed configurations, but upon an appropriateness of mood and affectivity which is forever in flux (see later chapters and Goldman 1963, Overing 1989, Rivière 1969).
It is whilst treading and retreading the endless combination of pathways both close and far to home that Tsimanes acquire knowledge of a scattered and extensive kindred, and of fish and game. The coming and going between different places and people creates networks of knowledge which constitute a known and sometimes safer universe for each Tsimane. The distance travelled does not necessarily increase the likelihood of danger. Instead it is immobility which prevents people from shedding fear of the unknown or the little known.

It has been suggested that for a number of Amazonian peoples, danger is associated with difference, sometimes distant difference, but not necessarily so (see Overing (Kaplan) (1977, 1981, 1984b), Gow (1991)). Such danger is feared and sometimes avoided but it is also necessary for marriage, for successful hunting and fishing and for shamanic knowledge. In the specific context of the Tsimanes, the central point to be stressed is that difference and its associated dangers, whether distant or not, are met most evidently and confronted by Tsimanes whilst travelling. As for other Amazonian peoples, dangers and life threatening forces necessarily and inevitably co-exist along side forces of potential fecundity and life generation. Those Tsimanes who stay at home are less able to confront difference and danger and consequently say they know less and fear more. They possess a limited knowledge of their kindred network, of fish and animal movements, of the movements and whereabouts of their guardians. They possess less knowledge in general about their surrounding environment and of how to navigate themselves within and through it.

I now turn to a discussion of both Amazonian and non-Amazonian literature which addresses issues concerning knowledge and movement. Descola (1994) speaks of Achuar knowledge of their 'natural' and 'supernatural' universe in terms of how they act on their environment and 'socially appropriate' it (p.175). Gardens and the forest are 'conceptually annexed by human praxis' (p.76) and are appropriated and transformed in the process. Descola's analysis of Achuar socializing techniques is an intricate and fascinating one and lends many interesting points of comparison for the Tsimanes. However my interest lies less in the ways in which the Tsimanes act upon their surrounding environment than in how they know it through personal experience and hence on human terms. Their understanding leads them to live discretely and appropriately with the array of beings, human and non-human which co-habit their universe. Successful human and non-human social relationships for the Tsimanes depend upon the level of each individual's socializing skills. Socializing appropriately and skillfully involves knowing how to best negotiate latent fertile and predatory potencies in

---

5These are problematic terms, the boundaries between which Descola attempts to dissolve by suggesting an Achuar socialization of nature (see chapter five).
everyday relationships with human and non-human beings.

Gow (1995) recognizes a relationship between movement and knowledge for the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba but goes further to discuss the relevance of human implications in the landscape. This human relationship with the environment is not just created through observation but by leaving traces, 'I say implicated in the landscape, rather than saying simply 'as you gain knowledge of the landscape'. In this context, knowledge would suggest a purely subjective experience. It is not such an experience, because implication depends on actively moving around in the landscape, and leaving traces in it' (p.51). Tsimane human traces on the landscape are also constantly noticed, gauged and referred to by others. They constitute part of their knowledge of the movements of close or distant kin, of their hunting and gardening, of their fishing trips or of simple wandering without a definitive purpose.

I agree with Gow in his recognition that the acquisition of knowledge of a landscape, and in this context of humanly and non-humanly social movements and practices, is not a wholly subjective experience. Whilst an individual is travelling, observing, listening and learning and absorbing the surroundings in the minutest of detail, he/she is not neutral or without effective agency. A travelling person is seen and commented upon either in the present, as his/her canoe turns a bend and is excitedly noticed by the members of a household or by a fishing party on the beach. Or an abandoned shelter and smouldering fire, bones, palm frond fans are meticulously examined by passers by either walking along the beach or through the forest. People moving through their environment take constant note of human and non-human traces and transformations but simultaneously leave a wake of their own presence. They deposit evidence of the fact that they have also been passing through, and over the landscape. It is thus essential to consider both the passive acquisition of knowledge entwined with the active, depositing of traces which will in part constitute the knowledge of others.

* The idea that abstract space is transformed into known, experienced places with attributed, inscribed meaning is not new and has taken a central theoretical place in a number of ethnographies mostly outside Amazonia. Renato Rosaldo (1980) in his study of Ilongot headhunting describes an Ilongot concept of their movement through space. The metaphor of movement is constantly referred to in Ilongot discourse and influences their practice, especially in relation to further movements and marriage choices. Rosaldo recognizes the role movement plays as an integral part of Ilongot life and states how, 'Ilongot sense of history is conceived as movement through space in which (and this is the usual analogy drawn) people walk along a trail and stop at a sequence of named resting places' (p.56). He describes how such history and movements are to be seen as a process which is unpredictable and
improvised, 'Societal processes, in other words, are seen more as improvised than given, more meandering than linear, more mobile than stationary' (p.58).

One of the central aspects of movement for the Ilongot appears to be the directionality of its nature. Movements are perceived as groups of people moving in the same direction and it is the constant shifting of directions which Rosaldo claims constitutes an improvised social order. He discusses this shifting directionality of movement with specific reference to Ilongot marriage practices, '..in which children are unlikely to marry the close kin of either parent and hence must, as Ilongots say, walk in another direction when they seek their spouses' (p.59) or, ' Both the directions of children's marriages and the possible pathways of sibling reaggregation among their parents were living proof that, among Ilongots, social life is improvised as people go along. Whereas youths move impulsively, out of the desire and anger in their hearts, older people - especially their parents - attempt to unite knowledge and anger as they negotiate the multiple ties that might pull them in different directions' (p.218).

Whilst the Ilongot sense of movement appears to take a linear directional quality, a line which ultimately forms a circle (p.182), I discuss in contrast, the peripatetic nature of Tsimane movements. Within this context, I look specifically at marriage choices, subsequent residence choices and constant changes to these. In accordance with Rosaldo, I also endow movement with a central organizing and creative quality both for Tsimane humanly social relations but also for their relationships with their surrounding environment and the beings living within. The Tsimanes however do not talk of a linear directionality of movement. I would prefer to stress the quality of their travelling and visiting, as they too appear to do, in terms of the oscillating nature of it. They always emphasize the potentiality of a move along with the likelihood of a return at some point.

Whilst travelling by canoe one frequently encounters curious individuals and families along the river banks, fishing, washing clothes and bathing. They invariably shout out to the passers by 'where are you going?' and the form this most commonly takes is 'jana' ra jadyiqui mi?'. Jadyiqui is a verb to go which incorporates the notion of return. So they are asking 'where are you going and returning from'. I sense that the direction of the movement is not of supreme importance. What is important is that an individual or family is moving to see kin, to camp on a beach or in the forest for several days to fish or hunt and smoke the products. The destination is important but only temporarily so; the person or people will return. Apart from this, the most important aspect of these riverine fleeting interactions, is the observation by the people on the river bank of the passers by and vice versa. The sum total of movements for hunting and fishing trips and for social visits is not a neat line enclosing a circle. It is more appropriately conceived of as a scattered network
across the Tsimane human and non-human universe. Each network is individually created and recreated as new routes are taken, as kin move residence and as different hunting and fishing grounds are exploited. Paths may be retrod but with improvised use.

Pandya (1990) discusses how for the Ongees of the Little Andaman, movement actually creates and defines space. He is concerned to go beyond what he perceives as a lack present in previous anthropological studies of space which, 'describe a cultural construct of space as if it were a prefabricated structure' (p.776) and aims to show how the Ongees construct their space. As he states, 'The Andamanese, and specifically Ongee, cultural construct of space is not a preconstructed stage on which things happen, but rather an area or region created and constructed by the ongoing practice of movement' (p.777). He also notes that each individual constructs and distinguishes his/her space according to his or her movements - movements which are intimately linked to and negotiated in accordance with movements of the spirits which cohabit the Ongee universe. The paths of the Ongees and the paths of spirits should never meet, for if they do, the spirits take the Ongees either up into the sky or out to sea.

The central point of his paper is summarized in his concluding paragraph, 'Ongee spatial categories are not given per se, but rather emerge through the practice of movement. Consequently, the Ongee map is not of places in space but of movements in space. Movements from one locality to another and the sequence in which movements are accomplished become direct representations of changes in places within a space. For the Ongees, movement alone defines and constructs space; space does not define and construct movement' (p.793). Again Pandya's article is of great interest here as it is one of the few studies of movement and what he proposes is exciting for an anthropology of space and place. Nevertheless, when talking of Tsimane movement it is less relevant to speak of a construction of space or place. It is instead more appropriate to talk of the relation of movement to the whole of Tsimane human and non-human social life. Rather than suggesting that movement for the Tsimanes constructs their social life or their relationships with the environment, game animals and their guardians, it is more apt to show how movement makes a Tsimane social life possible and enables life to be lived in a desirable way. To extend this understanding of knowledge of specific pathways, places and people along the way, to a notion of space constructed, seems quite inappropriate in the case of the Tsimanes.

I have argued that appropriate and successful socializing for the Tsimanes, depends upon knowing how to live correctly in the world. Such knowledge is acquired most fully and efficiently firstly through active, personal movement and secondly, in the perceived
movement of others. I now turn to different Tsimane uses of the term *sóbaqui* to develop upon these assertions.

* 

In chapters three and four I show how the moving away from and between different sets of kin and affines, enables the achievement of a desirable combination of autonomy and conviviality. Kin want to be together but only as long as relationships are comfortable and harmonious. Harmony is easily fractured and is met not by confrontation or dialogue but by a move away from one or other party. It is the fluidity of movement I suggest, which renders desirable and comfortable forms of sociality possible amongst the Tsimanes. Uncomfortable situations, fear, anger, embarrassment are rarely tolerated and usually met with a decision to move. Such movements may take the form of a venture into the forest to hunt or simply wander, or may take an individual or family several days travel away to visit and perhaps live with different kin.

An individual grows to know his or her kindred network more deeply and more extensively firstly by travelling to visit them, and secondly by partaking in and receiving gossip from visiting others. Most visiting prior to and after marriage occurs between close kin living either in the same cluster or settlement of clusters, or living in clusters lying several days' travel apart. In this section, I will discuss the importance of daily visits between those who live close by, longer, planned visits usually occurring on special occasions, and the very particular kind of visits of passing travellers. The section will show how most of these visits occur between close, known kin; between parents and children (in-law) and between siblings (in-law). However more distant kin are sometimes incorporated and in a discussion of visits by passing travellers it will be seen that the kin relationship is not necessarily important.

Again it is the knowledge of the person which is relevant. Whilst the known, social universe of a young child through to an adolescent usually consists of close kin; siblings, parents, grandparents, parents' siblings and their children, more distant kin and affinal relationships are gradually distinguished and incorporated into the known. This known, social universe then gradually expands to incorporate further people, some of whom may be close kin but others who may not. Visiting and travelling and the receiving of visits help to expand the known, social universe of each individual. These forms of *sóbaqui* simultaneously allow him or her to learn how to socialize properly and more extensively as he/ she discards more fear and embarrassment associated with the unknown.

The supreme importance of beer (*shocdye’*) is central to an understanding of what occurs on such visits. Most Tsimanes often explicitly state their reluctance to visit a household if
they hear the beer has finished or has yet to ferment. They say that in an absence of strong beer, there is little reason or point in visiting, nothing to keep them there (see chapter seven).

This discussion of humanly social sóbaqui (visiting) illustrates the way in which knowledge of an individual's social universe is gradually acquired and incremented. An expansion of knowledge eventually enables him/her to learn how to socialize properly and comfortably in his/her ever expanding social world. A part of this process is the gradual shedding of fear as knowledge of others grows and as the recognition and knowledge of the individual, in turn begin to increase. The fleeting nature of visits can be understood as the safest and most comfortable way to incorporate sometimes distant others into an atmosphere of intense intimacy and informality. Such conviviality is facilitated in part, by the presence of beer but also through the knowledge that those visiting will most likely leave in the morning. Visiting; the moving between and then away from people enables a desirable combination of intimacy and interest in others, and autonomy. The two interacting variables of intimacy and autonomy appear throughout the thesis as I discuss how their interplay allows for the creation and maintenance of an appropriate, safe and comfortable social life. People want to be together and look forward enormously to visiting and to being visited. Nevertheless, they also want to be able to move away quickly and spontaneously.

* Daily visits.....

Those people living close by (within one hour travelling radius but as mentioned elsewhere, residence boundaries are flexible) are almost inevitably close kin with whom daily interaction is common. Visiting usually occurs between same-sex kin and affines, although men and women may of course be in the house together. Planning and beer preparation are not necessary for this kind of visiting although beer if present, will be shared. Often a mother may visit her daughter for example, if they live in separate but closeby households simply to chat and be together. In such contexts they most probably help each other with daily chores such as preparing cassava, washing clothes or child care. In the absence of a daughter, a mother may visit her daughter-in-law in a similar way. In either context, food if being prepared, will be freely shared. In Cosincho, Francisca claimed she had none of her own siblings or parents living closeby and her own children were all young and unmarried. She told me that the only household she regularly visited was that of her husband's parents (lying at a distance of about one hundred metres from her own) where she would spend hours of

6Chapters three, four and seven discuss same and cross-sex kin and affinal relationships in terms of co-residence and relationships of work.
the day. Older daughters from her husband’s first marriage lived in their grandparents’ house. Francisca explained how they were like daughters to her and were the people who she felt most comfortable to visit. They would also regularly visit her and the three women would prepare beer together, cook together or simply sit and talk, probably baking bananas in the embers of one of their fires. This is but one example of the conviviality experienced between female kin as they work together. Further examples will be provided in chapter seven.

Such visiting between closely resident female kin is highly informal and can be understood as an extension of co-residence. Such ease and loose, sharing relationships would be rare in a non-co-resident situation. Similarly in Yucumo, a particularly large settlement of closely related clusters, married daughters (in-law) congregate with their mothers (in-law) or with their sisters (in-law) and spend long parts of the day together. Male kin, from different but close households, may also visit each other and spend hours together. They may perhaps prepare arrows, fish poison or actually hunt and fish together. Again, such visits and time spent together between fathers and sons (in-law) or between brothers (in-law) are highly informal and regular. Food and drink will be freely shared and again, as mentioned above, such visiting relationships are to be seen as an extension of actual co-residence. In settlements such as Yucumo, where households and clusters of households may lie up to an hour's walk apart, or even further, such visiting is central to maintaining close links and sharing between families who do not actually co-reside.

Whilst women or men work together or members of different households sit and talk together, knowledge of close kin and of movements of fish and game, as well as of other issues is circulated. I am sure much was talked about in such close, social contexts that I was unable to grasp but certain issues appeared prevalent. The well being of close residents, especially the anxieties related to frequent childhood illnesses and deaths was a frequent topic of conversation. Such talk of illness was invariably intertwined with possible analyses of reasons for the illness. Perhaps a travelling salesman had been angered and had thus chosen to sorcerize a young child. Or perhaps a guardian spirit inhabiting rocks lying close to the house had sent its mozoz (servants), to sorcerize the inhabitants of a household (see chapters six and eight). Whatever the reasons, the daily concerns of the well being of close fellow residents are formulated and circulated in such shared visiting situations. In this way, an intimate knowledge of the goings on of close kin living within a physically close radius is maintained and perpetuated. Hunting and fishing gossip and information about the surrounding environment in general; which trees are flowering, which birds are calling, which animals are fattening, if schools of fish have yet begun their upriver journeys to deposit eggs, are as important as humanly social gossip. This kind of talk constitutes a large portion of daily conversation in household visiting situations.
Such close visiting, the food and drink shared, work done together, the knowledge circulated, is less about incorporating distant or dangerous (although necessary) otherness into the close, known universe of individuals. Instead it is about maintaining and reinforcing a special, closest kind of intimacy between those living in close proximity. It is those who live close by to one another who most frequently see each other and who are most likely to work together and share food together.\(^7\)

What must not be forgotten however, is that those who constitute a close living, resident settlement only do so temporarily (see following chapter). They may be perhaps living close for several months only. Thus the special intimacy described as being created by co-residence and by daily visiting, is subject to constant flux. Closeness, safety, comfort are all desirable social states which I strongly experienced as being endowed with a fleeting quality.

* 

**Longer distance visiting.....**

For kin lying further apart, such as those between Pachene and Buñi for example, such visiting is more planned, lasts longer and is usually accompanied by copious quantities of maize and cassava beer (*shocdyeye*\(^')\). Again, this longer distance visiting is most common between people sharing close kin and affinal ties. In chapters three and four I discuss the likelihood of physical separation of brothers and sisters upon marriage. I also consider the voiced desires of siblings (in-law) and of mothers and daughters, for example, to see each other. The sporadic fulfillment of these desires may take the form of months or years of co-residence but may also be temporarily satisfied by visits usually lasting three to four days.

Those awaiting the visit most often spend the four to five days prior preparing beer so their guests arrive to vats full of thick, fermenting drink. The beer is served immediately and usually continues to be served until the supplies are exhausted. Shortly thereafter the guests invariably gather their belongings to leave either for home or towards suspected further supplies of *shocdyeye*(beer). Men and women may spend the few days before a visit hunting and fishing as it is known that during a drinking session, none feel like venturing

---

\(^7\)Of course, in a sense, the closest and most convertible form of otherness is ever present in the form of affinity. I have stressed throughout the thesis that actual, close residing affines are treated as and ultimately become kin through the experience of co-residing, sharing and working together. Any inherent differences are muffled and enshrouded in a special effort of friendship and affection.
into the forest or along rivers in search of food. Visitors most often arrive with fish speared along the way or with a bundle of smoked fish brought from home. On many occasions however, the presence of food was inconspicuous or absent. The visiting and visited filled themselves with gourds full of beer, perhaps accompanied with the odd baked banana either belonging to the house or provided by the visitors.

Most of the visits between close kin living far apart which I witnessed, took on a far more intense nature than the casual, everyday visiting of closely residing kin. Of course if a daughter or son-in-law for example, decide to stay on after the drinking party, everyday behaviour and the associated quiet relationships of work and co-living are reinstated. The atmospheres of the drinking parties are inevitably due in part, to the group consumption of alcohol. Such alcoholic commensality is also combined with an air of expectation and excitement, as kin who have perhaps not seen each other for several months, or more than a year, are finally closely together. They are able to drink together, touch each other and spend tireless hours talking and exchanging gossip. Such an exchange of information is in many ways similar to that described for close, daily visits except that it often incorporates people and places much further from home and from daily knowledge. The exchange of such information during lengthy drinking parties plays a highly important role in expanding the realm of the known and experienced of young children through to the elderly. Distant kin and distant places may not be physically reached but are indirectly engaged with and known during the fast and heated discussions of sóbaqui visits.

What I found especially striking about such beer visits was the marked transformation from a usual reserve and timidity accompanying an approaching visitor, to one of bawdy playfulness. He or she is likely to carefully and slowly approach a house, perhaps softly shouting a call or sending a young child first to inform the inhabitants of the arrival. Then upon sitting down in the house, often in a particularly upright and stiff position, talk is quiet and interrupted by long silences. Gradually as the gourds of beer have been passed around several times, laughter heightens, physical contact increases and all signs of timidity and apprehension are dispanded by a warm, intense intimacy. The role of alcohol in this process is clearly central, but I would combine this with the pleasurable intimacy creating

8A fuller discussion of relationships of food sharing is provided in chapter seven.
9See Hugh-Jones (1995) for a similar description of changing social etiquette of the Barasana. The difference between the initial, cautious approach of visitors and the intense, heated atmosphere of inter-community exchange feasts is marked. 'At the start of the rite the visitors keep rigidly separate from their hosts and are treated very formally; on the first night, to emphasize their status as outsider-affines, they remain camped outside in the forest. To begin with, it is only they who dance but by the end of the rite such differences have been obliterated. Hosts and guests now sit together, dance together and move from formal chanting between opposed groups to informal banter and raucous laughter between undifferentiated individuals' (ibid:233).
process of being together and sharing information. Women for example, rarely drink a lot like men, accepting a small gulp from a gourd whilst men pride themselves on downing entire gourds full of beer at once. Although women maintain a higher degree of control and are more acutely aware of the whereabouts of their young children, they also enter the closeness described and high pitched cascades of female laughter (invariably between sisters-in-law) can frequently be heard rising above the general level of talking and singing.

It is not always only close kin who are involved in such visits. Although they are invariably present, non or distant kin may also take part. The temporary inclusion of distant, less known people into the sphere of the intimate is most noticeable on such occasions. After a hunting expedition and special trip to a salt lick in a remote corner of Tsimane territory, the first house arrived at was that of the parents of three brothers who took part in the expedition. The party consisted of the brothers (Tayos) and a father, son and son-in-law who lay in no close genealogical relationship to the brothers. Despite a general air of mistrust and distance between these two groups of men, they occasionally group together to hunt and drink beer (living less than a day’s journey apart). All the men rapidly left the house arrived at in a display of frustration upon finding that Lorencia’s (the mother of the three brothers) beer had barely begun to ferment. Instead of resting a while after an arduous journey and drinking sweet beer, they preferred to travel a further five or six hours down river where they could drink the real thing. The real thing, beer in a state of advanced fermentation, had been prepared by two wives of the brothers who settled down to drink upon arrival. The other half of the party (the father with his son and son-in-law) returned to their home, a few hours down river. They returned later on in the night with some accompanying visitors to join the drinking party.

This was one of the largest and longest drinking parties I participated in and involved two groups of very close kin who had distant and tenuous relationships between them. The father from down river and the mother of the three sons from up river shared the same surname and described themselves as classificatory brother and sister (vojityitac dye’). However, the kin links were never stressed. What was stressed was that these families did occasionally meet and drink together and enjoyed sporadic, close relationships. However, Bautimo Lero, the father from down river, was viewed with suspicion verging on dislike by members of the Tayo family. He was described as stingy with his drink and capable of dangerous displays of anger. However, in the context of the drinking party, everyone sat close, brothers-in-law groped each other and sisters-in-law cackled. In sum, a heated, intensely close atmosphere was created amongst people who enjoy relatively distant relationships with each other. Someone, or a group of people, in some contexts viewed as distant and dangerous others, were temporarily incorporated into one of the most evident manifestations of intimacy and informality I was able to witness among the Tsimanes.
With them they brought information of game and fish movements close to their home and observed on their river journey. They contributed news of movements and happenings amongst kin living down river with whom the up river Tayos have virtually no contact. Those partaking in this beer party would probably prefer not to live with each other or even closely, and even suspect each other of anger-related sorcery powers (see chapter five). Yet they meet together, engage in physical intimacy and keenly learn of further distant others. Such knowledge would otherwise be difficult to come by.

This is a clear example of the two interlocking desires of autonomy and intimacy being fulfilled. Such a situation allows for a necessary flow of information and an acquisition of knowledge for all present. These people enjoyed being together and required the exchange of knowledge between them. However the threats and dangers latent in the personalities and relationships never need be confronted, for the families rapidly separated upon the drying up of the beer vats. I argue thereby, that it is the fluidity of movement, here in a context of social visiting, which allows for an acquisition and sharing of knowledge, and for the fleeting creation of warmth and safety. The dangerous repercussions of living too long or close together are thus circumvented.

*Visiting while on the move.*

A third kind of visiting, and perhaps the most interesting here, is that practiced whilst travelling elsewhere. Travellers on the river, walking along beaches or through the forest frequently meet settlements along the way. They come across fishing and hunting parties living in temporary campsites either on the beaches or deep in the forest. The way in which travellers are treated or the way in which travellers approach or avoid such settlements vary considerably, and is an indicator of the social knowledge and experience of the traveller and of the inhabitants of the settlements. Usually the only Tsimanes keen to take me by canoe to settlements lying further up or down river, were older, well travelled men who knew the rivers in detail. They also displayed an intimate knowledge of all the people who lived along them. Accordingly, they were well known and recognized by those living along the rivers.

I was once taken from Yucumo to San Borja and then back to Yucumo by two young brothers-in-law, Pancho Saravia and Germán Nate. The down river trip took three days and the return journey a week. It proved very helpful in clarifying some Tsimanes ideas relating to kin and non-kin, of the known and unknown, and of the appropriate associated behaviour. German had never travelled this stretch of the river before and was eager to learn
all he could from Pancho about the inhabitants of the numerous, clustered settlements along the way. He keenly listened to Pancho's fine grained tales of experience along this stretch of the river and within the bordering forest. Pancho informed German and myself of known people, the known households usually housing close kin to Pancho, and of whom was unknown and potentially dangerous. The divisions between unknown and known were particularly manifest when we needed to either stop for the night or to barter for food. Pancho preferred to sleep on a beach or go hungry than venture towards a house of non-kin. He explicitly stated that such people were most probably dangerous sorcerers and better avoided. In return, families or individuals who spied us from the river's edge were wary with their greetings. They displayed a similar mistrust and reserve towards the two young men they hardly knew.

Long river trips with older men, Pascual Viye and Miguel Durbani, were different by degree if not kind. Both Miguel and Pascual were in their sixties and had travelled and lived all over Tsimane territory and were relatively confident travellers and socializers. They were also widely recognized and invited to drink and sleep in houses of non-kin who were nevertheless known. On one journey down river from Fátima to San Borja, Miguel Durbani and his younger son-in-law Angel Nate and myself, were loudly hailed from the riverbank near to Mundai by a family known to Miguel but who lay in no close kin relation to him. Not only did we stop, but we stayed forty eight hours with the family. We drank beer with them and slept alongside them in their house. Pascual was similarly invited to share some beer and socialize on one of our trips from Yucumo to Fátima. But he preferred to continue on our journey.

Miguel and Pascual, despite being known and recognized, and despite having acquired the knowledge to travel and interact with people with markedly less fear than Pancho and German, are also shy, timid men. They slowly and carefully approach households and talk and laugh quietly upon entering. They may still travel warily and enter households with reserve, but they have shed some of the paranoic fear of younger or less travelled men. They have learnt or acquired the capabilities to socialize carefully without threatening others with their presence or feeling easily threatened by the presence of others10.

Rosaldo (1980) similarly notes the implications of speed of movement of ways of entering Ilongot houses. He states, 'The significance of greeting etiquette became clearer to me in 1974 when I mindlessly entered T's home in quick strides. The children inside were so startled by my uncouth act that they jumped out a window to the ground in fear and screamed

10The fuller implications of threatening, intrusive presence contrasted to that which is soft and discrete are discussed in chapters five and six.
'Uncle Nath is angry'. In such a situation, as I should have known, to move slowly is to show respect and good intentions, whereas to move abruptly is to show anger and hostile purposes’ (p.181).

It is not therefore a simple shedding process of fear towards an extroverted, fearless behaviour that is implied in learning how to travel and socialize. In a chapter five, I examine in more detail, the aversion the Tsimanes express in the face of what I term 'imposing' emotions and behaviour, especially anger -facoiljdye' (fáquitidye'). The raising of one's voice, the demanding of, or coercion of others or entering houses of others quickly or loudly, are all offensive, threatening ways of behaving for the Tsimanes. Such behaviour lies beyond the bounds of what is considered to be good taste. As an individual learns to possess less fear or at least a more controlled fear of others and learns how to socialize, he/she balances this knowledge with that of socializing without impinging upon others. Miguel for example, the older, well travelled man is always very quiet and wary in his approach of others' houses, his laughter always soft, his behaviour in general, discrete. He acts with social caution and is never feared for any anger-related behaviour. No-one ever mentioned to me that 'Miguel knew how to get angry' - one of the most common complaints about others, and enough reason to fear and avoid them. Miguel fears less but simultaneously has mastered his social capabilities so to maintain a discrete but amiable presence in the company of others. He 'knew how to joke', 'knew how to drink and sing', but he never rose his voice or showed other kinds of excessive, dangerous behaviour.

Overing (1985, 1986b) writes at length about Piaroa mastering of social and cultural knowledge, whereby unmastered knowledge or asocial behaviour is perceived by the Piaroa as an illness. Excessive behaviour, an adult disease for the Piaroa, is a disease of madness and highly dangerous to others. Overing explains how, 'The critical faculty for the Piaroa in the preconditions of evil action is that of knowledge, or the powers of capability; deliberation formulates desire; capabilities can poison deliberation, which in turn then poisons desires. The greater one's achievement on the level of knowledge and capability, the greater must be one's mastery over desires and deliberation; for if this mastery lapses, one becomes -at least temporarily - a mad and evil buffoon' (1985:273). Knowledge, social and cultural capabilities for the Piaroa are necessary and creative but carry with them dangerous risk of excess and hence madness. The predicament is that with such knowledge a mistake has dangerous consequences: if one does not tame the mad capabilities that make one wise, they can overwhelm both one's will and desires and lead to insanity. This is why learning must always be a gradual process; to know too much is to become insane, absurd and madly foolish, a state in which one can do evil' (ibid:274). Overing's study of Piaroa concepts of knowledge, insanity and disease sheds light upon and clarifies a similar concern of the
Tsimanes to carefully acquire and master social knowledge without placing themselves or others in danger.

* 

I return now to the idea relating distance travelled to knowledge acquired and mastered. Rosaldo (1980) interestingly mentions a similar correlation expressed by the Ilongot and notes a relationship between the acquisition of knowledge and shedding of fear in a way similar to that I have suggested above for the Tsimanes. He also remarks upon the gender difference perceived by the Ilongot in their notions of knowledge acquired through travelling. I suggest that such difference is quite inappropriate in the case of the Tsimanes. Rosaldo states, 'That men's anger is greater and their fear lesser than that of women, Maniling explained, is because men walk further than women in their respective workaday lives as hunters and gardeners. To know distant places and people is to lose one's fear of them...' (p.185). The first thing to note is that the Ilongot are less concerned, or at least differently concerned with mastering their knowledge to the end of controlling excessive behaviour. Rosaldo notes that their anger becomes greater with knowledge and is something admired by the Ilongot.

I would also add to the idea that knowledge acquisition renders the world safer, that a traveller also deposits knowledge and leaves traces and implications in his wake (Gow 1995). A traveller is not a passive, neutral wanderer in space, but is an active agent in the construction of the known worlds of others. This leads me to the question of gender differences and Tsimane social knowledge and capabilities. As I have mentioned, it was usually men, most often one being an older man, who travelled with me either by canoe or on foot through the forest. It is true to say that in general, men do travel further and see more places and people along the way. And it was usually Tsimane women who would lament the drying up of their kinship knowledge as a result of staying still for too long. Despite this tendency, it would be inappropriate to equate travel and knowledge only with men. Women in fact often do accompany their husbands on visits and on hunting and fishing expeditions and are as keen as their husbands to visit known people along the way. In a sense, older women appear to leave most fear and shyness behind and are unashamedly loud and raucous (when socially appropriate and this would be most likely in the presence of sisters-in-law) in comparison with their quiet husbands.

Furthermore, those who are visiting and approaching the household are not the only relevant actors. The inhabitants of the households play as an important role in receiving visits. They also should act appropriately or at least according to an individual's social knowledge or level of fear. In the absence of her parents, a young girl may barely bring herself to talk to
approaching visitors, let alone invite them into her house. If they were to enter the house, being close kin or knowing the parents well, rather than sit with them, the young girl would probably run off to find her parents and inform them of the visit. The day we arrived at Carmen Lero’s house (a woman of about forty with five children) was quite different. She was alone in the house with two small children while her husband and older children were out fishing. She appeared fully confident and fearless upon our approach, ushering us to sit down and offering us a gourd of sweet banana beer. It is necessary thus to stress here that women and men acquire social knowledge whilst hosting visits as well as travelling and visiting themselves. Previous comments about gossip and the circulation of social and other information may also be understood in this context.

* 

**Napo’ world.**

The previous section suggests that an individual’s knowledge of his/her social world gradually expands with age. Young people recognize and are constantly reminded by their parents of the need to discard their timidity and to learn how to visit and socialize well and without fear. Older people are recognized for their social experience and knowledge, and for an associated lack of or control of their fear. There exists another context in which age is less relevant; entry into the **Napo’** world, the non-Tsimane social world of national Bolivians. Itinerant river traders, loggers, cattle ranchers and gold diggers all employ young and old Tsimane men and women to work for them. Such work often leads individuals and families far from home and into contact with distant, sometimes unknown people and places. River traders stop off at every settlement, irrespective of the kin links between their inhabitants and their employees. Their employees have to gradually learn how to approach unknown or distant Tsimanes and engage with them. I often noticed a loathing to do so and frequently river traders’ workers preferred to stay on the beach or in a canoe rather than to enter potentially dangerous households.

Nevertheless, well seasoned **Napo’** helpers display what I noted to be a very different form of socializing with their fellow close or unknown kinsmen. They even seem to speak differently, more loudly, more confidently and with apparent ease and fluency. I also noted a sense of attractiveness for those on the receiving end of the presence of working, travelling Tsimanes. They would be keen to learn as much as possible about that seen and learnt by the traveller. It seemed that those Tsimanes travelling and working with **Napo’** are the prime agents of gossip circulation in the Tsimane social world. They travel further and wider than most Tsimanes and are forced to see and learn about people and places not previously known to them or perhaps to their close kin. They are proud of this and especially keen to display
their knowledge and the fact that they are no longer scared of Napo', of distant places or of distant Tsimanes.

However, as I have already stressed, such expanded learning should be accompanied with a mastering of the knowledge acquired. Travelling workers are only attractive to those in their presence if they impose no threat. Most Tsimanes I met who prided themselves on their special knowledge and experience acquired through working for Napo', displayed the same discretion and care in the houses of others as that described above for Miguel. Nevertheless, on a number of occasions, certain individuals, most often young men, known for their dealings with Napo', would display an almost cocky confidence and assertiveness very unlike most Tsimanes I met. Such young men were usually considered with a combined admiration and dislike by other Tsimanes. Their special capabilities, especially fearlessness in the presence of Napo', would be observed with awe. But their loud way of carrying themselves, a tendency to command others and to give ostentatious displays of anger would be shunned by others. It seemed that those Tsimanes who showed a special ability to enter the Napo' world at the loss of their previously, carefully learnt social knowledge, of discretion, of quiet, unimposing behaviour, would gradually find themselves alienated from their Tsimane social environment. They were feared and avoided to a large extent. This was not simply because they were able to enter the Napo' world; for this they were admired. But they did not take the caution to master the special knowledge acquired in the process. Instead of being better able to socialize appropriately, their loss of fear led them to impinge and encroach upon the highly valued autonomy of others.

The Forest. So far I have spoken of the humanly social world of the Tsimanes. Interwoven with social knowledge acquired through visiting are other facets of knowledge concerning the surrounding environment. When Tsimanes are travelling to see people, it is not only arriving that is important. All that is observed along the way, the sharing of these observations and of past, remembered experiences are perhaps as important as the ultimate arrival, and add to the ever expanding knowledge of the traveller. This aspect of travelling was brought home to me particularly clearly when I fought my own frustration over the pace of down river canoe trips. Poling canoes up river, sometimes weighed down with people and goods is hard work and a constant battle against the current. In contrast, down river travel is a leisurely affair and most often, the only human intervention in the process is an occasional steering movement with a paddle at the back of the canoe. Initially I found the slow rate of travel and

11 For a development of the main issues introduced in this section, see chapter six.
12 As far as I am aware, no Tsimane individual or family possessed an outboard motor and all river travel was by poling canoes or balsa rafts.
the apparent lack of concern with speed of arrival frustrating until I also learnt that arriving was not the only aim of travel.

Seeger (1987) and Isacsson (1993) both describe similar experiences of river travel with the Suyá and Emberá respectively, 'While rushing through the rapids of the head waters and later gently moving with the current, our voyage became a tour of learning which went beyond acquiring geographical and historical information. During the voyage we discussed points and places in the passing landscape, a conversation, if not confrontation, between the written word of history and the spoken word of memorized tradition. I felt that our trip was full of meaning for my fellow traveller; while I was simply going down river collecting information, he was travelling in another dimension of time and space which was awakened by our sharing of the 'historical' experience embedded in the riverine landscape' (Isaccson:p.2). Seeger's description is almost an echo of this, 'We do not just paddle up a stream, but through a personalized environment whose physical details are known by what has happened there. Every trip up river is a history lesson. I am often quizzed about the places we pass, as are young boys making their second and third trips' (1987:11).

Whilst travelling with the Tsimanes, what appears a sometimes monotonous landscape, endless river meanders and long sandy beaches fringed with thick forest interrupted occasionally by gardens, is ascribed constant meaning along the way as Tsimanes invoke memories (recent and mythic) associated with specific places. 'That was where you fell in while fishing' I was told, vaguely realizing that Miguel was referring to a slightly embarrassing accident of a year before, along what was for me an indistinguishable point along the river. Or information about past successful hunting or fishing expeditions would be shared, often in meticulous detail. Such tales would sometimes refer to several years back.

Weiner (1991) discusses a Foi acquisition of knowledge by means of movement and 'inscriptive activity' on their landscape. He stresses the significance of naming places for the Foi, and states, 'Nowhere is human interest more effectively inscribed upon the environment than in the names we give places' (p.41) and follows on later to say that 'Foi place names act as mnemonics for the historical actions of humans that make places singular and significant' (p.45)13. Contrary to his observation, naming of places for the Tsimanes did not appear either common or important. While asking about a specific location, I would meet an abrupt directional movement of the head accompanied with a pouting of the lips. 'Mujve, dărăcan' - over there, in the forest. Sometimes a specific water course would be named to

13Basso (1984) also provides a rich and fascinating account of Apache moral narratives associated with named places.
orientate me better. Settlements are most often named according to the watercourse most nearby, yet even this is confusing given the dispersed nature of settlements along watercourses.

Nevertheless, on my travels and hearing about the travels of others, certain places, invariably striking rock formations\(^\text{14}\) would be named. These rocks usually hide openings to animal and fish corrals carefully guarded within the earth (see chapter six). They are also often traces of beings of the mythic past (although in no such elaborate form as that for various Australian Aboriginal groups, see Myers 1986). Their past activities left imprints in the landscape which are not inert today. For example, near the mouth of the Pachene river lies a particularly striking rock formation. Large, almost geometric, square segments of rock lie side by side along the river bank. This I was told, was called Chóva, or Anaconda and marks the place where Dojity\(^\text{15}\) slayed an enormous anaconda during one of his many travels. Climbing up from near the source of the Pachene river into the hills is a dry, rocky stream bed. A strange hole in one of the flat, smooth rocks is described as being the footprint of Jesucristo's\(^\text{16}\) horse. Jesucristo also is believed to have travelled extensively throughout Tsimane territory. This particular footprint remains as a permanent trace of his presence, left as he was climbing up and through Tsimane hills and forest on his way to La Paz.

Such places are usually deemed powerful and are either avoided or treated with respect, revealed especially in pu'shaqui, a blowing of tobacco smoke as a form of appeasement and protection\(^\text{17}\). I later explore the ambivalent nature of potencies believed to dwell within rocks. Their power may be both generative and life providing but may also restrict and even deny life to human intruders.

There is thus more to travelling, observing and knowing the environment than the passive consideration of phenomena along the way. As I have mentioned, humans travelling through the forest or along beaches and rivers, leave marks and impressions in their wake. These have so far been described as being noticed and remarked upon by other Tsimanes. Human

---

\(^{14}\)See Bender (1993) and Tilley (1994) for a discussion of meanings ascribed to landscapes and to rock outcrops in particular.

\(^{15}\)Dojity is one of the mythic twin brothers responsible for creating most beings and characteristics of the Tsimane universe (see Riester 1976, 1978, 1993, Pérez-Diez 1983 and Daillant 1994).

\(^{16}\)It would be interesting to unravel more carefully some of the syncretic myths of the Tsimanes which sometimes appear to mix characters from Biblical tales with those from the Tsimane mythic past. Riester (1993) provides an impressive array of transcribed Tsimane mythology.

\(^{17}\)See chapter six for a discussion of Tsimane social relations with places and beings of their 'natural' environment.
Traces however also carry with them strong implications for non-human beings who also dwell within the surrounding rivers, rocks, forests and hills. Game animals, fish and their owner guardians live alongside predatory humans and similarly move within and across the same spaces. I explore the fuller implications of human and non-human relationships in chapter six and eight.

Tsimanes treat the simultaneously nurturant and dangerous guardian spirits with utmost care and caution. Such relationships I later argue, are highly social and imbued with similar ideas of etiquette and taste as those of the humanly social realm. Many people explained to me that jajabá (a generic term for guardian beings) for example, were content to see humans eat real meat and fish and thus to live well. If not provoked to anger, guardian beings control a steady release of game from their pens inside the hills through openings in rocks (chui'dye'), out onto the surface of the earth to be seen and hunted by humans. Guardian beings however are easily angered by human traces. Their anger not only leads them to withdraw game, but more dangerously, leads them to sorcerize humans, causing illness and ultimate death.

Human traces were most often referred to as smells - poquidy'. The odours of uncleanliness - gc mo' are present in menstrual blood, male and female sexual fluids and in the putrid decay of rotting flesh, human, fish or mammal. Men and women who hunt and fish are meticulously careful not to provoke guardians with such traces. A menstruating woman should not leave her house or a very close radius to her house during her menses, and hunters and their wives should abstain from sex before hunting. Finally, every effort is made to prevent shot game from escaping, dying and rotting in the forest18. Guardians are only satisfied if game meat and fish is properly smoked, returned to the households and happily eaten by Tsimanes.

Tsimanes offered little direct exegesis about why exactly guardian beings may be angered by human presence. Nevertheless, I understood such ideas to be related to those of a social etiquette at play in humanly social relationships. In the chapters to follow I describe aspects of this shared etiquette. I concentrate in particular, on ideas of dangerous intrusion and imposition, and contrast these with more desirable forms of social behaviour predicated on soft discretion. Humans and non-humans co-reside, and in contexts such as hunting and travelling, their worlds and interests are likely to merge. This interaction has to be carefully gauged by human travellers and hunters. Socializing in a non-imposing and discrete way with both humans and non-humans is the most appropriate and conducive to safe, generative and nurturant relationships.

18The implications of rotting human flesh will be explored in chapter eight.
The Tsimanes talk of their journeys through the forest and along rivers as *sóbaqui*. Such *sóbaqui* engages them fully with the surrounding environment. It exposes them both to the dangerous potencies lying within but also to the possibility of a supply of meat and fish. Most importantly in this context, it exposes them to acute learning and thus to intimate knowledge of their surrounding universe. This knowledge incorporates detailed observation of game movements, a careful tracking of spores and prints and an invariable rechecking of these observations. It includes a careful gauging of guardian activities and if they are present closeby. *Chuí'dye*, the hole formations in rocks, through which game leave and enter their pens within the earth, are assessed by passing travellers to check especially for animal prints approaching and leaving the site. Finally, knowing the environment involves minutely noticed seasonal transformations. A careful note is taken of which birds and animals are calling, whether they are fattening or not, or of which trees are fruiting and flowering.

Learning how to observe all of these features of the landscape and more, is an essential possession for a person requiring the capabilities to know his world(s) and how to live well and appropriately in it. An individual will be able to hunt more effectively, and be better equipped to avoid danger, the more intimate his knowledge of the forest, rocks and rivers both close and distant to his home.

Such knowledge is shared and is not individually appropriated to accumulate better skills but is constantly passed on in remarkable detail to fellow co-residents. Pancho Saravia did not own his own gun or arrows. He explained however, how whilst resident at Yucumo Campamento, he used to wander up into the hills behind and carefully inspect animal presence. On return to his settlement, he told his brothers and brothers-in-law of his findings. This was May and the fat season for the most desired spider monkeys which also tend to live high up in the hills gorging themselves on the fruits of this bountiful time. A week after Pancho's return and sharing of his observations, a large hunting party of his close kin set out on a long hunting trip which proved highly successful. They were able to fill several litre bottles with oil extracted from the thick layer of fat coating the stomachs of the spider monkeys and numerous trussed up, well smoked monkeys were brought back to the settlement. Life that month was good, the Tsimanes of Yucumo were able to eat 'real' food in large quantities. This was facilitated primarily by Pancho's initial observations combined with years of similar experience and accumulated knowledge.

Whilst travelling through and over a landscape, meanings are sought and understood. They are remembered and repeated in tales of past experiences to others and in repeated observations reconfirming previous phenomena. I have suggested that humanly social *sóbaqui* - visiting, and all that is involved, broadens the flexible boundaries of the known, safe social world of the Tsimanes. In a similar way, a *sóbaqui* across the landscape induces
an essential learning of how to appropriately negotiate potential danger and nurturance. In so doing, it renders a home to potentially terrifying forces, at least temporarily known, safer and nurturant. As I have emphasized, the definition of safety is forever reassessed and renegotiated as routes are retrod and stories told and retold.

* * *

I have discussed the way in which oscillating movements create an extensive network of routes and cross over points of relevant interactions in everyday sòbaqui. Visiting, hunting, and gathering enhances and increases the known world of he/she who travels, and subsequently of those who hear about the travels. It is the peripatetic nature of mobility which most fully enables individuals to learn and to really know about their world. A crucial element to knowing involves an understanding of how to best, and most appropriately gauge and behave in social relationships.

Travelling paths and paths of knowledge are constantly retrod, improvised upon and renegotiated, forming an ever expanding mesh or network for each individual. Those who are deprived of their mobility note their decline in knowledge. They lack the context which is most conducive to seeing, hearing, learning and thus knowing an environment which is sometimes dangerous but also generative.
CHAPTER THREE: RESIDENCE DECISIONS

The previous chapter introduced an underlying theme of the thesis as being the Tsimane taste for a fluidity of movement as an effective and efficient means of carving out desirable forms of social living. A salient aspect of this process and that to be discussed in the present chapter are the constant decisions taken by individuals concerning whom it is preferable and productive to live and work with.

Residence decisions are central to an understanding of ways in which Tsimane individuals actively create appropriate and desirable forms of social living. This is especially important given the absence of a post-marital residence rule and a stress upon mobility throughout a dispersed kindred network rather than upon physical community.

Tsimane women and men express a number of apparently incompatible desires and commitments about co-residence. The typical size and dispersal of Tsimane settlements and the expressed desire or need to live not too close to too many people, renders the fulfillment of such a plurality of preferences impossible. The Tsimanes attribute value to styles of behaviour and appropriate socializing with kinspeople which do not relate to specific places. Such ways of being and socializing are understood as resulting from an appropriate, mastered juggling of moods and atmosphere between individuals at times of co-residence. These personal relations are drawn from disparate strands of a wide network of kinspeople and do not correlate to notions of shared physical co-residence over time.

In chapter seven I discuss the specific, nurturant relationships of co-residence in relation to food production and sharing. Such relations are frequently ruptured however, as an individual, couple or family decide to move to live with another set of relatives. Preferred forms of sociality I stress, are achieved by living and working in a number of locations over time, and the Tsimanes regard co-residing with a large number of people over a long period of time as uncomfortable and even dangerous. It may result in anger which inevitably induces sorcery attacks.

David Thomas' ethnography on the Pemón of Venezuela (1982) offers the closest comparisons to Tsimane material. He explains how Pemón kinship and marriage can only be understood in the light of a dispersed kindred group, and also stresses the need or desire to have dispersed kindreds rather than physically co-resident ones. As he states, 'An accurate image of Pemón society would be a large scatter of dots, all connected by innumerable cross-cutting and overlapping lines, representing settlements and visits between them. This dispersion and the countervailing frequency of visits make for particular characteristics of the gossip network, since one person may not have many others in sight at a given moment, for

48
the greater part of the time' (p.35). The Pemon, in a way similar to that described for the Tsimanes, feel that fighting occurs as a result of too many people living together. Their core kindreds span the whole of tribal territory (rather than being co-resident as the Trio or Piaroa) and the existence of near relatives in other regions is crucially important for providing options when disputes occur (p.84). However, whereas Thomas partly explains kindred dispersal as a way of providing a 'way out' or 'safety valve' in times of conflict, I suggest that amongst the Tsimanes, although such 'safety valves' are clearly utilized, the stress remains on the desire to move and live between locations.

For the Tsimanes, the type of person whom one moves to live with, and the intensity of moving itself varies during an individual's lifetime. The preferences of young, married couples may differ from those of elderly couples who already have married children. I tentatively suggest that although not always the case, older people are less mobile than younger, and depend on the visits of their younger kin and affines to socialize and receive knowledge of other kin in other places. Young kin in a sense, do their socializing for them, or put differently, older kin act by proxy through their children and children-in-law. This of course implies that who one's child-in-law and his or her parents are is important. I will suggest that a marked preference for MBch/FZch marriage can in part be understood in the light of the desires for dispersed siblings to remain 'close'.

Residence decisions are reached by each individual in a way which temporarily discards some social relations in favour of others. Such decisions involve an assertion of individual intention and will, in that each person is essentially in control of whom he or she lives and works with. At the same time residence decisions consider the needs and desires of others surrounding one, and as such, the intention of each individual is highly other-regarding. In this way, preferred social living is something created by self-conscious, other-regarding individuals. Successful sociality is achieved by an intentional juggling of multiple desires of self and others in a way which inappropriate, uncomfortable situations are moved away from.

A permeating feature in Tsimane social life of gender equality is discussed in chapter seven and can also be seen to underlie decision making processes. A decision to move from one location to another may as well be a result of a woman wanting to live close to her mother or sisters, as it may be about a man wanting to live and work with his father or brothers. The main point is that over time, both possibilities are satisfied and the efficiency of such fluidity in creating desirable sociality must be stressed.
An interesting issue in the Tsimane context is that relations of production are never constant because of the frequent rupturing and change of relations of co-residence. The importance of sibling sets in terms of their intermarriage has been richly described by Overing (1972, 1973, 1975), Rivière (1969) and Goldman (1963) in particular, and I further discuss Tsimane sibling set intermarriage in chapter four. Similarly, relationships of production and consumption and their associated commitments and company, flow between groups of siblings (in-law) amongst the Tsimanes. Below I discuss the way in which siblings, once married, may not reside in the same cluster. Their respective moves between the settlements of their parents (in-law) reveal a form of sharing of company and labour between the siblings, and with the parents. I noted for example, that often upon one couple leaving a settlement, one of their siblings (in-law) would arrive shortly after. If this is to be viewed within the context of sharing commitments and company, an economy of effort can be detected in the tendency. If sibling groups intermarry (the marriage preference stressing actual MBch/FZch marriage), they move only between two sets of parents (in-law). Also it is clear that in such cases, siblings will find it easier to remain together if they want to. In other words, with close marriage, there are less relationships to weigh up and consider.

* 

The potential problem of affinity arises in considering the juggling of a plurality of residence preferences of self and others. A range of Amazonian literature addresses the problematic of how affinity is reconciled by a number of amerindian peoples. Overing Kaplan (1972, 1973,1975, 1984b) rightly stresses the necessity of affinity for Piaroa marriage and social continuity, whilst also recognizing the potential danger inherent in the affinal other perceived by the Piaroa. Amongst most Amazonian peoples, affines are recognized as necessary for marriage and children, and thus for the creation and perpetuation of social living. Yet affines also represent the outside, the sometimes unknown and so the potentially dangerous. Overing Kaplan (1972) describes how the system of teknonymy transforms affinal relationships to ones of kinship for the Piaroa and, 'is a symbolic statement of the unity of the group and of the artificiality of the distinctions within it' (p.282). The only relationship which always remains affinal is the same-sex sibling-in-law relationship, she explains, because it is crucial to the marriage alliance and, for men, is highly political in nature.

There are other ways of thus dealing with the affinal relationship. For instance, Viveiros de Castro (1992) suggests that the Araweté introduce a third category of relationship - friendship which he describes as a 'sort of antidote to affinity' (p.170), and, 'One of its consequences is the blurring of the simple dichotomy of relative/non-relative and shifting of affinity to a symbolically reduced position' (p.142). He goes on to say that, 'All aspects of their social philosophy seem to converge on this discreet refusal of affinity; the redundancy
of alliances, closure of kindreds, oblique marriages, and at the same time the dispersion of reciprocity, non transivity of the terminology and proliferation of friendship bonds. A mixture indeed of generations, genitors, friends, 'we are all mixed" (p.176). The divisive quality of affinity however, reappears in the celestial world where the gods represent the archetypal cannibal other, which all Araweté eventually become.

Alternatively peoples of the North West Amazon (Hugh-Jones 1979) and the Gê groups (Maybury-Lewis 1979) actively play out relations of difference, both in terms of affinity and gender, in ritual and the spatial organization of their houses and settlements. For them, affinity is something to be stressed rather than muted.

In the case of the Tsimanes, affinity is not manifest in ritual or spatial expression, nor by the use of teknonymy or friendship. Tsimane relations of affinity are firstly muffled through a high number of marriages between close, known kin. Any hint of difference or distance is blurred in situations of co-residence. When the potential discomfort and danger latent in affinal relationships show initial signs of display between co-residents, it is time for one or other party to temporarily move away.

In light of the above discussion, I will now present a number of Tsimane examples of expressed residence preferences. I aim to illustrate the way in which Tsimanes are able to satisfy a variety of desires and commitments by living and cultivating in more than one location. It is this ability, enabled especially by a value placed upon movement, which I argue is a crucial aspect of a successful etching out of preferred states of social living.

Following chapters discuss more fully the general idioms within which Tsimanes express ideas of correct and improper sociality. Such idioms reveal ideas concerning the advantages of some co-residents over others. Chapter five explores the way in which many residence moves are both described and explained by the Tsimanes, as an avoidance of impinging emotions such as anger. The circumvention of anger clearly relates directly to the creation of amity and high morale, essential to successful daily social living (see Goldman 1963, Thomas 1982, Overing 1989). It is only one way however in which comfortable and safe sociality is rendered likely. The correlating role of intimacy and informality will further be revealed below.

The capacity, will and knowledge of men and women to help one another (nótaqui) to work (carijtaqui) is something else frequently remarked upon. Such discourse on the help and work of co-residents is juxtaposed against a simultaneous discourse on laziness. Laziness is
often attributed to a lack of knowledge of how to properly carry out tasks expected of a productive and congenial co-resident.

This is not the context in which to provide an exhaustive analysis of what is inherent and practiced in cross-generational and same generation relationships. I suggest nevertheless that a certain pattern is revealed in an individual's decisions about who he/she wants to live with at different stages in his/her life. This pattern suggests a change from a stress on cross-generational relationships in the expression of dependencies and preferences, through to a stress on same generation relationships, and then back again to cross-generation relationships.

Young married couples tend to live and work between the households of their respective parents (in-law). More established couples with children, their own gardens and households, tend to aggregate with siblings (in-law). Finally, elderly couples with married children tend to live and work with their young married children (in-law). It should also be emphasized however, that as in any social formation amongst the Tsimanes (and amongst most Amazonian peoples), it would be a mistake to apply rules or rigidity to the processes seen to occur. Patterns may be discerned but there will also be a number of case histories which do not comply to such patterns. I would be reluctant to apply any fully fledged structural analysis to the processes.

Parents (in-law) and Children (in-law):
The cases discussed below involve young married couples. Mothers and fathers both express a preference for living in the same household or cluster as their children of both sexes, usually implying the presence of their respective children-in-law. As mentioned above, one of the idioms for expressing the quality of a co-resident is that of the capacity\textsuperscript{1} to help and work. The help and work of daughters and daughters-in-law are desired in the gardens, in preparing food and beer, in washing clothes, and in the correct bringing up of their children. The help of sons and sons-in-law is valued in terms of their ability to provide meat and fish, and fathers (in-law) especially value the help of sons and sons-in-law in heavy tasks such as clearing gardens and building houses. The value placed on these capacities of children and children-in-law of both sexes is often given as a reason for desiring them as co-residents. However it will also be revealed that such practical aspects of relationships are overshadowed by the importance of congeniality.

\textsuperscript{1}Interestingly perhaps, remarks upon the help and work of others were always couched in ideas of capabilities rather than willingness. Nevertheless, the issue of how will, knowledge and capacity are perceived to relate is clearly more complex. I have suggested throughout the thesis that knowledge and intention are inextricably linked amongst the Tsimanes.
Miguel Durbani living at the Catholic mission of Fátima, is an elderly man who expressed most often and most clearly his desires to have co-resident sons-in-law. He and his wife Juanita Canchi have four daughters and no sons. I was unable to speak at length with Juanita and therefore these desires are primarily those expressed by Miguel. What was made clear by Juanita and her five daughters however, was the intimacy enjoyed between them. Most of the account below speaks of the advantages of having co-resident sons-in-law from the perspective of a father-in-law. The clear priority placed however on close mother - daughter relationships, both in terms of cooperation as well as of companionship, is also clearly revealed in the example, and will be expanded upon in other cases of mothers and daughters.

Miguel mentioned on several occasions how much easier his life had become since several of his daughters had married and he had co-residing sons-in-law. Dario, one of Miguel’s and Juanita’s sons-in-law (see Fig. 5b) comes from about a day down river at Yaranda, and explained that he would at some point move with two of Miguel’s daughters to live close to his mother. Their other two sons-in-law were born and brought up at Fátima.

The relevant point is that in both of these larger settlements, marriageable people live relatively close by. Post-marital movements between sets of affines can thereby take part on a daily basis, rather than involve more long term movement decisions. Both sets of parents-in-law living at Fátima, enjoy intimate relationships and visit each other and eat and drink together frequently. However, Miguel’s sons-in-law spent more time helping and providing for his household than for the households of their parents slightly more distantly placed (two in Fátima and one down river at Yaranda). As a result, Miguel’s and Juanita’s five daughters would all invariably be together in the house of their parents. All couples mentioned, also had their own separate gardens and two couples possessed their own house.

Miguel expressed full confidence that his sons-in-law would stay with him, and he had plans for their future. These plans were revealed when Miguel took me to the isolated upriver settlement of Pachene, where he had once 'escaped' the difficult priest at Fátima. He explained on our trip how he had rather quickly grown tired of his isolation. He had no help in building a house nor in clearing gardens. Now, he explained, he had sons-in-law, and thus perhaps in the future he could move back with them to Pachene. Two of his sons-in-law expressed to me their enthusiasm at this idea.

It is important here to understand what made it comfortable and desirable for these sons-in-law to remain closer to their parents-in-law rather than their own parents, given that they

---

1 The Tsimane marriage prescription prescribes marriage between MBch/FZch, and marriageable persons are denoted by the term fom (see chapter four).
(1) José Manuel Nate y Rita Noza.
(2) Desiderio Viye y Asunta Coata.
(3) Ignacio Viye y Natividad Canchi.
(4) Jorge Viye y Severa Tayo.
(5) Francisco Nate y Paula Lero.
(6) Elias Lero y Domitila Viye.
(7) Adrián Saravia y Lorencia Viye.
(8) Pascual Viye y Riboria Coata.
(9) Victoriano Viye y Natividad Lero.
(10) Modesto Sanchez (Canchi) y Virginia Viye.
(11) Delmira Coata.
(12) Carmelo Viye e Isabel Muche.
(13) Belisario Wareco y Anselma Viye.
(14) Juan Noya Roca, Elinda Canchi Rivera y Espirita Viye.
(15) Claro Viye y Elsi Coata.
(16) Julio Viye y Teresa Coata.
(17) Angel Viye y Florinda Coata.
(18) Luciano Viye y Antonia Ronda.
(19) Claudio Viye y Rosa Cunai.
(20) Antonio Saravia y Augustina Viye.
(21) Jesusa Viye.
(22) Angelito Sanchez y Cecilia Viye.
(23) Ignacio Sanchez y Carmen Viye.
(24) Santos Viye y Paula Coata.
(25) Mateo Viye y Francisca Coata.
(26) Fidel Nate y Guadalupe Viye.
(27) Gerardo Lero y Asencia Viye.
(28) Isabel Coata.
(29) Santiago Viye y Santa Cunay.
(30) Guillermo Viye y Elsia Lero.
(31) Orlando Viye y Maria Cunay Nate.
(32) Angel Viye y Manuela Cunay Nate.
(33) Jesus.
(34) Julian Runda y Boclo Viye.
(35) Trinidad Ronda e Ida Viye.
(36) Gerardo Viye y Dionsia Ronda.
(37) Juan Viye y Paulina Coata.
(38) Jose Viye y Modesta Canchi.
(39) Jorge Cary y esposa.
MAP 3. YUCUMO (BOCA, CAMPAMENTO, MARACA) [NOT TO SCALE]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Augustín Viye.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Inocencio Apo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Martina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Francisco Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Francisco Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Santa Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cájaro Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>José Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Guillermo Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Josefa Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Victoriano Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Paula Apo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Esteban Apo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>José Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Casimira Apo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Seferina Canchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Marcelina Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Luciano Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Claudio Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Augustina Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jesusa Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Miro Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Paulina Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Asunta Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ramona Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Domitila Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Elías Lero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Desiderio Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Jorge Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ignacio viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Mateo Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Pascual Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Francisca Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Isabel Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Riboria Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Pascuara Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Delmira Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Vareco Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Alcides Canchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Angelito Canchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Ignacio Canchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Modesto Canchi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Florinda Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Teresa Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Elsi Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>José Manuel Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Rita Noza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Fidel Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Gerardo Lero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Natividad Lero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Dolores Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ascencia Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Guadalupe Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Santa Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Santos Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Santa Cunay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Guillermo Cunay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Virginia Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Claro Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Carmen Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Santiago Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Adrián Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Lorencia Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Cecilia Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Juan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Espírita Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Víctor Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Julio Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Angel Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Carmen Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Isabel M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Casimira Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Debora Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Anselma Viye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Belisario Coata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Germán Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Candelaria Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Marina Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Delfina Nate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Modesto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Carnasia Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Fermiliano Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Demetrio Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Pancho Saravia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Antonia Saravia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


FIG. 3b EXTRACT FROM YUCUMO GENEALOGY
were under no obligation to do so. It is more helpful here not to over-emphasize the mutual practical help of co-residence, but to look instead to the quality of the relationship between Miguel, Juanita, their daughters and their sons-in-law. It has been established that the achievement of high morale is essential for successful co-living. It is this achievement by Miguel, Juanita and their children (in-law), which suggests most clearly why the sons-in-law remain close. Upon entering their house, the relaxed, intimate and enjoyed atmosphere was evident. This I understand to be a result of a careful mastering of social etiquette on all sides.

The sons-in-law may have felt a commitment to their wives' parents and were meeting this, but the relaxed and enjoyed atmosphere of the relationship fully enabled the fulfillment of their commitment. It should be pointed out that the relationship is not perceived as only operating one way. Children and children-in-law may feel certain commitments to their parents (in-law) but are also dependent on them until they have established their own gardens and households. Even after this establishment, relationships of mutual interdependence may continue in periods of co-residence and visiting.

The case described suggests no sense of conflict between the desires of sets and kin and affines. A further example from Yucumo illustrates more clearly what happens when multiple residence preferences are more obviously at play. Jose Manuel Nate and his wife Rita Noza live at the Yucumo Campamento, about an eight hour walk from the Boca de Yucumo from where three of their sons-in-law come (see Fig. 3b). The residence preferences and feelings of commitment expressed to me all come from the children (in-law) who, as in the case described above, were recently married or had very young children. This is also a particularly interesting case where three brothers married three sisters, a pattern which I have mentioned to be both ideal and often practiced. As suggested, when sibling sets intermarry, complications arising from residence decisions and movements between different sets of affines are minimalized. Groups of siblings are more likely to be together anyway, and moving between the same two sets of affines.

During the several months that I first lived at the parental home of the three young brothers at the Boca de Yucumo, the movement of the three young couples between the Boca and the Campamento was considerable. Not one of the couples had yet built their own house or cleared their own gardens. Whether living with their parents or parents-in-law, the young women helped with food preparation within the house (they were reluctant to help in the gardens or to fish they said, because of their young babies). The young men contributed meat and fish on a daily basis, and in both locations agricultural produce was provided by the parents (in-law).
On my second visit to Yucumo, the three brothers mentioned their feelings of having split commitments to the households of their parents and of their parents-in-law. Their reasons varied. For instance, Fermiliano was a teacher at the school at the Boca where his parents lived, and thus had strong commitments there. He also did not wish to make his own gardens although he did regularly contribute meat. Pancho was at this time living at the Boca with his parents but was concerned by the expectations of José-Manuel, his father-in-law at the Campamento. He told me that José-Manuel was requesting his help in making gardens. This was especially necessary explained Pancho, because his father-in-law had no able young men co-residing with him to help and contribute to his household. It eventually transpired, after a time of weekly coming and going between the two locations, that the daughter Marina, and her husband Demetrio, built a house near to Jose-Manuel and his wife. Once they cleared gardens, they decided to reside by Marina's parents in a more established fashion. Pancho and his wife decided to remain with Pancho's parents. There they also began to clear their own gardens. The couples became more established either at the Boca or the Campamento by the creation of their gardens. Nevertheless, the movement and visiting of the young couples between the two settlements were constant.

Such decisions, it should again be pointed out, are not just based on practical commitments felt by young men and women to their parents (in-law). One of the young Nate daughters in particular, was clearly unhappy living in her parents-in-law's house at the Boca. She expressed that her unhappiness was due in part to a feeling of loneliness in the absence of her mother. But her husband was the school teacher and therefore less able to move whenever he felt like it. As a result, she would invariably walk the eight hours alone to the Campamento so to spend some time with her mother. Similarly, Rita Noza, the mother of the three daughters would lament the absence of one or more of them. She would mention her joy at their arrival and the importance of living with her daughters, both for their help, but more importantly so not to be lonely - jam qui yiris. The stress upon the importance of high morale and congeniality to successful social living is here again apparent.

The most important issue arising from this description, is that relations of helping, working, producing, consuming, although perhaps concentrated in one location at one time, are also shared and dispersed between the clusters of the Campamento and the Boca. This dispersal can be understood in this case of sibling set intermarriage, as a sharing of company and commitments between siblings. In many of the cases of sets of three or four brothers and sisters intermarrying, I was aware that never were all couples co-resident at the same time. I never witnessed siblings discussing these issues, but it often occurred that if recent arrivals had plans to stay, a present residing couple would most likely leave to where the others had come from within the space of a few days. Thus rarely were parents (in-law) left alone for long periods of time. Neither were too many people living together at the same time.
The following example further illustrates the multiple considerations at play between a young married couple. It will be shown how each of their desires are weighed up with those of their respective parents (in-law). Anselma Viye, one of Pascual Viye's numerous daughters\(^3\) was living with her husband Belisario Cuata and their two young children in their own house, about ten metres away from that of Pascual and Delmira's (Anselma's mother). They had their own gardens from which they were already producing plantains, cassava and rice amongst other produce, and were clearly quite established in Yucumo.

Her husband Belisario was highly valued by Pascual as the most active and helpful of his many sons-in-law. Pascual often complained to me about how he, a tired and old man, usually had to work alone because the rest of his sons and sons-in-law were lazy. Belisario Cuata, unlike most of Pascual's other sons-in-law, came from a distant settlement Curibaba, about a week's travel by canoe and then lorry from Yucumo. Belisario would mention his mother and brothers living at Curibaba, and that he and his wife had also cleared gardens there. He and Anselma were quite clear about their possible predicament. Anselma wanted to be near her mother and sisters at Yucumo, while Belisario had close kin and crops to think about, far down river at Curibaba.

Belisario also enjoyed close relationships with his parents-in-law and in particular his brothers-in-law at Yucumo. However, when I was living at Yucumo, he would spend long periods of time at his parents at Curibaba with and without Anselma. Anselma explained that she liked travelling with him and wanted to be with him, but essentially preferred to be close to her mother. They were at this time having to reach a decision between them, as whether to move down together to Curibaba for a more established period of time. This decision involved each of them thinking about the other and about their respective parents (in-law). I left before such a decision was reached, but it is probable that they and their children moved to Curibaba for a period of several months, and then came back again to Yucumo. They would thus satisfy the multiple desires at play, tending their crops in both locations and producing and consuming with both sets of affines.

It is interesting to note from the above three examples that men would usually talk about their relationships with other men, and women would usually talk about their relationships with other women. Men's talk about other men would often centre upon the practicalities of their presence; about whether or not they were good hunters or 'knew how to work hard'\(^4\).

---

\(^3\) Chapter four discusses the central position of Pascual Viye at the Boca de Yucumo. He had three wives and twenty two children most of whom married MBC/FZC all very close to or from the Boca itself.

\(^4\) See separate discussion however about the intimacy enjoyed between brothers-in-law. The joking nature of this relationship was always expressed as overriding any relevant practical help.
Women would also talk about the desire and need to have other female company to help with household chores such as preparing raw food, cooking, fetching firewood and water. What they emphasized however, when they spoke about these relationships, was the companionship and enjoyment of time spent being and gossiping with female kin. This again underlines the central importance of high morale in any social setting.

Women, especially when older, became considerably emotional when discussing absent daughters. Lorencia Lero, a middle aged woman living at Pachene, often spoke of her absent daughter Toribia and how she missed her presence. She would also stress that absent daughters meant absent grandchildren, often lamenting 'Tári' yu, itși' jaye'. Mu'ya yus jaye', jäm' bā'yi yu, ma'joi' yu' - 'I'm sad as I have no grandchildren here. When one has one's grandchildren around, one lives well and is happy'. Upon my return to Pachene several months later, Lorencia's daughter Toribia had returned to her parent's cluster with her husband and Lorencia told me how at last they had come back to live close to her and that her life had become so much happier.

The strong desire for mothers, daughters and sisters to live together suggests a desire for uxorilocality amongst the Tsimanes. Such an 'uxorilocal dilemma' is described for a number of Amazonian peoples. Brothers want to be together for example, but often have to bend to the strength of the pulls of female relationships. It can be seen that despite the fact that Tsimane women do stress their strong desire for uxorilocality, the Tsimanes overcome the 'dilemma' by living both uxorilocally and patrilocally over time and eventually create neolocal settlements.

The following example illustrate what occurs when conditions of high morale are felt to deteriorate to ones of discomfort. In this case the desires of mother and daughter to be together are juxtaposed with the desires of a son and his parents. The first time I visited Pachene, Salomé Canchi was a resident daughter-in-law married to Trinidad Tayo (see Fig.4). She often complained to me of her loneliness, and especially of her far from ideal relationship with Serafin, her father-in-law. She described her discomfort both in terms of

...
(1) Serafín Tayo y Lorencia Leró.
(2) Trinidad Tayo y Salomé Canchi.
(3) Juan (Jave, hermano clas. de Dionisia) y Toribia Tayo.
(4) Crisanto Tayo y Carmen Lero.
(5) Paulino Tayo y Dionisia Jave.
(6) Bautismo Lero y Amalia Nale.
(7) Fidel Apo y Francisca Lero.
(8) Espíritu Apo y Asunta Lero.
MAP 4. PACHENE-OCUÑA
[NOT TO SCALE]
| 1 | Alejandro Lero. |
| 2 | Julio Tayo. |
| 3 | Vicente Tayo. |
| 4 | Pascual Tayo. |
| 5 | Casimira Lero. |
| 6 | Bonifacio Lero. |
| 7 | Anastasia. |
| 8 | Carolina Lero. |
| 9 | Elías Lero. |
| 10 | Modesta Nate. |
| 11 | Francisco Nate. |
| 12 | Victoria Cunay. |
| 13 | Natividad Lero. |
| 14 | Antonio Tayo. |
| 15 | Borja Canchi. |
| 16 | Rosa Nate. |
| 17 | Elías Tayo. |
| 18 | Fermín Tayo. |
| 19 | Isidoro |
| 20 | Dolores Tayo |
| 21 | Tayo. |
| 22 | Tayo. |
| 23 | Tayo. |
| 24 | Tayo. |
| 25 | Serafín Tayo. |
| 26 | Lorencia Lero. |
| 27 | Pascuala Lero. |
| 28 | Mariano Canchi. |
| 29 | Petrona. |
| 30 | Gerardo Lero. |
| 31 | Marcelina Coata. |
| 32 | Revonsio Apo. |
| 33 | Petrona Lero. |
| 34 | Juana Lero. |
| 35 | Carmelo apo. |
| 36 | Bautimo lero. |
| 37 | Juan Nate. |
| 38 | Amalia Nate. |
| 39 | Rosario Tayo. |
| 40 | Fidel Tayo. |
| 41 | Martina Canchi. |
| 42 | Venancio canchi. |
| 43 | Juanita Canchi. |
| 44 | Miguel Durbani. |
| 45 | Dionisia Jave. |
| 46 | Juan. |
| 47 | Toribia Tayo. |
| 48 | Paulino Tayo. |
| 49 | Julio Tayo. |
| 50 | Simon Tayo. |
| 51 | Cisanto Tayo. |
| 52 | Miguel Tayo. |
| 53 | Trinidad Tayo. |
| 54 | Salomé Canchi. |
| 55 | Severa Canchi. |
| 56 | Carmen Lero. |
| 57 | Fidel Apo. |
| 58 | Angel Nate. |
| 59 | Espíritu Apo. |
| 60 | Asunta Lero. |
| 61 | Dolores Lero. |
| 62 | Francisca Lero. |
| 63 | Felipa Durbani. |
Serafin's angry and disagreeable behaviour, and of her wish to be nearer her mother and sisters who lived at Buñi, three days canoe journey down river. Serafin (the father-in-law) would also mention his distaste at Salome's antisocial behaviour. This he associated particularly with the fact that she was usually grumpy and would cook enormous pans of food for herself, and sit and eat them all alone getting fatter and fatter (she had no children).

At this time Salome and her husband were busy clearing and planting fields at Pachene. When I returned to Pachene several months later, Salome and Trinidad had moved down to Buñi to live next to Petrona, Salome's mother. Together they were planting rice in recently cleared fields. The question of seasonality and crop timing in relation to decisions to move from one household and set of gardens to another is clearly crucial, and the delicate juggling between care for crops and movements between kin and affines must be emphasized. Salome said she was happy to now be living close to her mother and I noticed that her whole way of carrying herself had changed. She seemed somehow resentful and in low spirits while I knew her at Pachene, whilst at Buñi, she appeared more relaxed, confident and happy. Trinidad, her husband was content for a while at least to enjoy the bantering company of his co-resident brothers-in-law at Buñi.

Through their decision to move to live and work with Salome's parents, they were both able to live, consume and produce with Trinidad's affines after a time of doing so with Salome's. At the same time, the accelerated discomforts of life at Pachene were abruptly brought to an end and replaced with a happier, more comfortable sociality. It is also relevant to add here that shortly after their departure from Pachene, Serafin's daughter Toribia and her husband and children, returned after several months away to live and work with Serafin and Lorencia. This again illustrates the tendency for siblings to share commitments and companionship with their parents between them. The distance between Pachene and Buñi is three days travelling by canoe down river and five travelling up river. Clearly, visiting between the two locations involves more long-term considerations than those discussed above in the context of Fátima, where visiting is possible on a daily basis.

All the previous case studies have considered cross-generational relationships. They all involve young married couples who are still dependent upon their parents and parents-in-law. They also expressed their feelings of commitments to them. Clearly they simultaneously involve elder parents whose children have now married. The kin and affinal relationships can be productive and enjoyed if the appropriate 'mood' is maintained. Although the stress here operates between different generations, it is important to emphasize that most of the dynamics of decision making take place between husband and wife, each considering the other's needs and desires and those of their respective close kin.
Same generation relationships:
The following examples will consider sibling and sibling-in-law relationships and their associated expectations and preferences. I will begin with the brother-sister relationship. A certain development cycle is revealed in the processual change of brother-sister relationships. Each stage in the cycle of brother-sister relations will be related to a discussion of residence preferences and decisions. Before marriage, a type of conjugal and mutual dependance of an economical kind may be observed between cross-sex siblings. Unmarried brothers provide for their parental household while their unmarried sisters prepare the food and both work in the parents' gardens. When they marry, spouses carry out the tasks previously carried out by the siblings, and it is suggested that after marriage, cross-sex sibling relationships are in some senses substituted by the respective spouses.

In Marriage amongst the Trio (1969), Rivière describes a similar situation. He mentions a strong affective relationship between brothers and sisters (80% of whom live together) which grows into an economic interdependence. He states that this interdependence is most obvious when neither are married and least obvious when both are married. Much of his interpretation of Trio marriage rests on the obligation of a brother-in-law to replace the woman he has removed with another. Or more clearly put by Rivière, 'My tentative interpretation of this situation is that the male/female relationship of interdependence is epitomized in the brother/sister relationship and the removal of a sister from an unmarried man destroys his economic independence and thus there is a primary obligation to replace her' (p.209). I would not be able to apply such an idea of sister exchange to the Tsimanes nor do I wish to stress relations of production as the only or most important way that Tsimanes talk about wanting to live and be together. As I have already emphasized, the stress by the Tsimanes lies on the joy or comfort of living with certain people and less upon the productive work carried out.

Brothers and sisters after their respective marriages are therefore, no longer mutually interdependent and it can be noted that they do little together or for each other. There is still however a marked interest and concern for each other. Brothers and sisters may or may not be co-resident depending upon the movements described above within the context of parent-child (in-law) relations. The point is, that during this stage in their lives, there is no stress placed by the Tsimanes upon the brother-sister relationship. It is suggested that more relevant, is whether they get on with their siblings-in-law or not and this will be further discussed below.

For instance, Serafin Tayo used to live as a younger man in the same cluster as his sister Dolores. He then chose to move with his wife and young children up river to a more isolated location. One of the main reasons alluded to by Serafin for this change in residence (a move
described by him as one away from too many people and the associations of anger and conflict attributed to them), was because of the anger of Isidoro, his sister's second husband\(^7\). This move occurred when Serafin's and his sister Dolores' children were still young. Their children have intermarried and Serafin and Dolores see each other sporadically. The contact between them is maintained however, essentially by their children (in-law).

One of these marriages actually reproduced a similar discomfort between brothers-in-law. Dolores' and Isidoro's son Juan, married to Serafin's daughter Toribia, was considered both by his parents-in-law and by his brothers-in-law as a rather undesirable co-resident. I was frequently told about his anger, his tendency to steal and even sorcerize. So again we see a case of brothers-in-law preferring not to be co-resident. The stress here lies more upon this fact than upon a strong desire for brothers and sisters to be co-resident. It is important here to return to my initial suggestion that Tsimane preferred forms of sociality are created through the assertion of each individual's personal autonomy, manifest particularly in residence decisions. The two examples above illustrate how two men and their wives decided to move away from their brothers-in-law (potential spouses for the wives), so to avoid their anger and the uncomfortable situation created as a result.

To return to the brother - sister relationship, Serafin showed concern and interest for his sister Dolores, her activities and whereabouts and Toribia's brothers also spoke fondly of her. Nevertheless, co-residence and being together, producing and consuming together, were not expressed as being particularly important. This is entirely different from the clear, stated preference expressed by parents and children (in-law) about wanting to live together. A section below will concentrate upon the fact that both Tsimane sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law usually emphasize the familiarity, and desirable, joking nature of their relationship. The two uncomfortable brother-in-law situations just described are usually avoided and overcome by an overt affection being express between siblings-in-law of both sex.

An issue central to this discussion is the fact that cross-sex siblings may be separated after marriage, especially if they are not part of a sibling set intermarriage. This would also account for a lack of contact amongst a number of cross-sex siblings. The efficiency of sibling set intermarriage is again suggested in this context. If a group of brothers and sisters marry another group, there are fewer affinal relations to negotiate, and they are more likely to be co-resident with their siblings than if their partners were scattered between different families.

---

\(^7\)It is also relevant that Isidoro is widely considered in a suspicious light as a practicing sorcerer. He apparently does not really know how to cure but he does know how, it is said, to get angry, sorcerize and kill people - \textit{jam anic chij p\~{i}n\~{i}tucsi, chij f\~{a}coij, chij faraj\textit{ta}csi, chij ija\textit{c}si mun\~{i}yi' in.}
Cross-sex siblings in Yucumo interact frequently even after marriage. Because of the larger number of households at Yucumo, and a high number of 'close' or 'endogamous' marriages usually occurring between sibling sets, cross-sex siblings are less likely to be separated. They may eat and drink together despite the fact that they no longer live under the same roof or even in the same cluster. Lorencia Viye would visit various of her brothers' houses in Yucumo, eat and drink in them and often borrow implements, with or without asking. Again the issue to stress however, is the emphasized closeness of same sex siblings-in-law (and siblings) both in younger and older generations. Pascual, Lorencia's father for example, spoke little and did little with his real or classificatory sisters living relatively close to him. He was much more interested in the presence of his brothers-in-law. I remember for example the return of a classificatory sister of Pascual, Domintila and her husband Elias Lero to the Boca de Yucumo after years of being away. Pascual was excited by the news of their arrival and plans to build a house and stay for a while at the Boca. His excitement however was expressed at how keen he was to see his brother-in-law again and how much he had missed him. He did not even mention his classificatory sister. His wives however expressed much more their interest in the arrival of Domintila (their sister-in-law) than in that of her husband. Below it will be discussed how same-sex siblings and siblings-in-law spend considerable amounts of time together. They help each other with their respective tasks but also enjoy each other's company, joking and simply being together.

A fuller discussion of Tsimane marriage and the central importance of cross-sex sibling relations to marriage reckoning and practice is presented in the following chapter. Nevertheless, it is essential to mention that the main interest between brothers and sisters, once their children are of a marriageable age, lies in the fact that their children are of an ideal marriageable category - fom. Amongst the Tsimanes there is a remarkably high level of actual MBch/FZch marriages compared to other Amazonian peoples who adapt their terminologies to make their marriages 'as if correct (see Overing 1972, 1975, Basso 1970, 1972, Rivière 1969).

It is noted that when brothers and sisters have children of marriageable age, they are rarely co-resident. I do not have specific information on whether they moved apart before or after the marriage of their children. It is possible however to suggest that the issue of marriage reckoning (at least at the level of parents considering the marriages of their children) is related to one of residence decisions, in that brothers and sisters appear to move apart once the children of siblings reach a marriageable age. Or seen from a slightly different

---

8For a full debate on marriage reckoning in Dravidian kinship systems see Dumont 1953, Radcliffe-Brown 1953, Rivière 1969, Overing 1972, 1975 (see following chapter).
perspective, when a couple have children of marriageable age, they tend to rely more on the help and company of their children and children-in-law than upon that of their same-sex siblings and siblings in law. This again refers back to my initial comments about the development cycles of certain relationships. Young married couples and elder couples with young married children stress their cross-generation relationships. They are most likely to live and work together, while more established couples tend to live and work more with their own generation of kin and affines.

The idea that brothers and sisters maintain their ties through their children, or by proxy has been discussed by both Goldman (1963:137) and Thomas (1982:90). It is also highly relevant in the case of the Tsimanes. Sometimes a brother and sister may not see each other for several years, but continue to know about each other through the presence of their children (in-law). For instance, as I have already mentioned above, two of Serafin's children (Toribia and Paulino) married his sister's son and daughter respectively. Serafin and his sister Dolores live a two day canoe journey apart and only see each other once a year, when Serafin and his wife camp on a beach opposite their house so as to harvest their coffee planted decades ago. For the rest of the year, their children (in-law) live and work between the two locations, and Dolores and her brother Serafin receive constant news and gossip about each other through the serial presence of their children.

A similar example of cross-sex siblings and their continuing relationship after separating is that of Bautimo and Petrona Lero (see Fig.4). They are an elderly brother and sister who, having once lived together, are now separated by more than a day's travel. Two of Bautimo's daughters have married two of Petrona's sons. In a similar way to that described above, the young couples move, live and work between the two locations. When I lived with Bautimo and his wife, one of their daughters Francisca and their son-in-law Fidel Apo were co-residing. Their other daughter and son-in-law were co-residing with Petrona. It was clear that this pattern would most likely be alternated later on during the year or the following year, when Francisca and Fidel would go to live with Fidel's mother Petrona, and the other daughter and son-in-law would return to Bautimo's house. The elderly cross-sex siblings Bautimo and Petrona thereby maintained a certain intimacy and knew in detail about the well-being of one another, by means of the shared pattern of co-residence of their married children. This also emphasizes the previous suggestion that siblings (in-law) share company and commitments by never all co-residing at the same time, but by moving between their parents (in-law).

---

9A fuller discussion of both Goldman's and Thomas' analysis of the B/Z relationship and marriage is provided in the following chapter.
The following example illustrates the possible loneliness and isolation suffered when the possibilities inherent in the brother-sister relationship are not exploited. Lorencia Lero married to Serafin Tayo, has little active relationship with her actual siblings. She neither lives close to them nor are they brought 'closer' by the marriage of their children. She often spoke of her isolation and loneliness, and of the fact that she knew less and less of her close kin far away. If her children had married the children of her geographically distant siblings, she would have had a means of remaining in contact with them without moving herself. As it is, she is too old to move and clearly suffers from her feelings of isolation from her close kin. She overcomes this in part however, by placing extreme importance on her relationship with her daughter and grandchildren.

This section has traced the brother-sister relationship from its mutual interdependence whilst unmarried, through to its maintained connection by the marriage of each other's children. I have suggested that although the brother-sister relationship is not particularly stressed in relations of co-residence, the implications inherent in the relationship are made fully manifest when their children reach marriageable age. The Tsimanes stress instead their same sex siblings (in-law) as preferable co-residents, and most talk about cross-sex siblings was couched in interest and talk about same sex siblings (in-law). These same sex relationships will now be discussed.

Same sex siblings (in-law)...
Sisters were especially clear and vocal about their desires to be co-resident. They enjoyed the intimate, informal way of being and working together. When co-resident, sisters help each other prepare food, drink, look after each other's children and collaborate in a number of other ways. Perhaps the clearest illustration of the closeness of their relationship is the fact that sororal polygyny is a relatively frequent occurrence\(^10\). When co-wives, who are almost always sisters, were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of sharing a husband, they always commented upon how marrying the same man put them in an ideal situation; they would never be separated. One day I was bathing with an unmarried adolescent girl Choca, and she jokingly suggested that we look together for a man to marry. That way we could live together as sisters.

Above I mentioned the melancholy expressed by women when far from their mothers. A similar state of loneliness was often attributed to a woman's distance from her sisters. The reason often given by a woman for wanting to return to her parents' household is so also to

---

\(^{10}\)Sororal polygyny used to be much more frequent before efforts of dissuasion by both Catholic and Evangelical missionaries.
be able to live and work with her sisters. When Salomé Canchi, married to Trinidad Tayo at Pachene moved to her mother's house after suffering the presence of her disagreeable father-in-law, she was also moving to be close to her sister Saavera.

The sister-in-law relationship is also enjoyed as an intimate one. Co-resident sisters-in-law also work and share much time talking and simply being together. Sisters-in-law would always stress to me the fact that they were dyin' mo' - sisters-in-law, and good friends. Despite this apparent closeness, sisters-in-law were not so vocal about their desires to be close together. They often find themselves co-resident because of their relationship to the parents (in-law), or because brothers and brothers-in-law want to be together.

There are variations in the Amazonian literature with regards to siblings-in-law (both sister-in-law and brother-in-law relationship) and affinity in general, as I suggested above. Brother-in-law relationships, for example, are sometimes described as political relations of respect and avoidance as among the Trio (Rivière 1969), the Piaroa (Overing 1975), and the Kalapalo (Basso 1972). They are sometimes described as overtly affectionate as here amongst the Tsimanes and also amongst the Nambikuara (at least so reported by Lévi-Strauss 1943, 1973). Most examples stress the brother-in-law relationship and speak less about the sister-in-law relationship, mostly because they talk about the exchange of women by men. I however cannot talk about an exchange of women by men, and instead want to stress that affinity, present in the sister-in-law relationship as much as in the brother-in-law relationship, is blurred by the Tsimanes. By being close and affectionate together, sisters-in-law are treating each other as far as possible as sisters and a close, intimate sociality between them is not only made possible but is stressed.

The following example however reveals the possible underlying tensions between sisters-in-law, and clarifies the differences between them and sisters. Whilst Carnacia Saravia and her sister-in-law Marina Nate were threading bead necklaces one day, they discussed Carnacia's brother Fermiliano, who was married to Marina's sister Delphina. Delphina had been complaining about her husband's unfaithfulness (see Fig.3b). The two sisters-in-law and Lorencia (Carnacia and Fermiliano's mother) all sympathised with Delphina. They recognized that Fermiliano preferred to chase young girls rather than provide for his wife and young children. However Carnacia and her sister-in-law Marina, then strongly disagreed on Delphina's capacities as a good wife. Marina, Delphina's sister, fully defended her, denying any accusations that she may be lazy and miserable. Although the two sisters-in-law were close, there was an obvious atmosphere of underlying tension between them. If such tension grew, one of them would have to suggest to her husband that it would be better to move away for a while, so as to reintroduce calm and tranquility to daily social relations.
As mentioned, the brother-in-law relationship has been discussed at length in Amazonian literature and is usually viewed as the crux of affinity and as a highly political relationship. This relationship amongst the Tsimanes is the most overtly enjoyed, playful and intimate. The blurring of affinal distinctions suggested above is here taken to an extreme. Fighting between brothers-in-law is rare if not entirely absent. If brothers-in-law were to fight, the potential dangers of affinity would be exploded rather than muffled.

The Piaroa recognize that affinity is necessary to build sociality, and so have to live with their brothers-in-law. Whilst resigning themselves to the fact that they have to live with their brothers-in-law, they usually will not work with them. Piaroa sisters-in-law do work together however. Amongst the Pemon, brother-in-law tensions are clearly present and usually expressed in accusations of laziness. It is extremely rare, says Thomas (1982), to find them living or working together. He explains that they have a stronger sense of obligations to their brothers than to their brothers-in-law, and as a result sibling groups reconstitute themselves after marriage. Goldman (1963) also states how the Cubeo stress the solidarity of brothers over brothers-in-law. Although he notes a warm relationship between Cubeo brothers-in-law, they have little contact. Instead, brothers remain together as their sisters marry out. Goldman feels that it is the hard core of brothers, and the fraternal closeness expressed between them, which forms the focus of Cubeo kinship.

The Tsimanes however, not only live and work with their brothers-in-law, but constantly express their love and affection for them. Germán Nate from the Yucumo Campamento was the most explicit about his feelings about co-residing with brothers and brothers-in-law. When I first met him he was not yet married, and was living for most of the time with his parents and unmarried sisters in their house at the Campamento. When his married sisters and brothers-in-law were co-resident at the Campamento, Germán both visibly and vocally enjoyed the company of his brothers-in-law. He made every effort to spend as much time with them as possible, spoke of his affection for them, and of his desire to be close to them. He told me in front of one of his brothers-in-law, that he would do anything to leave his parental home and live with his brothers-in-law (note that he made no reference here to his sisters). He explained how he found it difficult to tolerate living close to his brother, for he treated him badly and 'knew how to get angry'. They invariable fought and had frequent disagreements. Fighting with his brothers-in-law, he explained, would be out of the question. About a year later, he achieved his desire by marrying Antonia Saravia, the younger sister of his brothers-in-law. Thereafter the young couple frequently moved between the two households.

---

Goldman does not analyze the situation from the point of view of the sisters-in-law as a resident group of in-marrying women.
It was explained to me on several occasions by different sets of brothers-in-law, that they behaved in such an extremely intimate way, groping each other's genitals for example, because one was, or could be married to the sister of the other. On one occasion, during a heavy drinking session, Revonsio Cunai, whose wife had died two years before, joked about me being his possible future partner. His brother-in-law Santiago egged me on, saying that it could all be perfectly legitimated if I became his (Santiago's) sister. If I were Santiago's sister it would then not only be correct, but preferable that I marry his brother-in-law. I have already stressed that I would not interpret this preference in terms of relationships of exchange.

Aside from Germán, no other man spoke so explicitly of hostilities between brothers, and Tsimane brothers do usually get on. Brothers, upon deciding to establish a household separate from their parents (in-law), often live close to, and work with each other. Brothers who do live together in this way are usually married with young children. It has already been suggested that when their children are old enough to marry, residence patterns revolve around these cross-generational relationships, rather than between siblings or siblings-in-law. Paulino and Crisanto Tayo for example, live opposite each other near the mouth of the Pachene river about a day's river travel from their parental home. A third house is occupied by the sister of Crisanto's wife Carmen. She and her husband also live far from the households of either of their parents. Paulino and Crisanto had been living close by for several years, and were clearly both established and happy with their relationship. The relationship between the two sisters-in-law was also intimate and the two women frequently prepared food and drink together. The two brothers helped each other carrying out heavy tasks such as house building, fished and hunted together, and the members of each household would frequently cross the river to eat and drink with each other.

Despite this tendency for brothers to aggregate, nearly every Tsimane man I spoke to emphasized the closeness of his brother-in-law relationships, and the desire to be with and do things with brothers-in-law. The reason I provide less detail here on brother relationships is perhaps due to the lack of attention expressed by the Tsimanes with regards to this relationship.

Most importantly in the context of sibling-in-law relationships is the fact that their children can, and invariably do marry. I discussed above that the children of brothers and sisters

12Going back to the idea of development cycles, it is important to note here the tendency of aggregating siblings and siblings-in-law as they move away from their various parents and parents-in-law. This tendency suggests a horizontal stress in Tsimane social organization (see also Piaroa, Overing Kaplan 1975) whereby same-generation relationships are emphasized over cross-generation ones.
typically marry. This of course implies that the children of brothers-in-law and of sisters-in-law marry. Overing Kaplan (1975) explains how amongst the Piaroa, marriage is in fact reckoned between brothers-in-law and/or sisters-in-law, rather than between brothers and sisters. Similarly amongst the Tsimanes, when talking about marriage of their children, Tsimane men would stress their affinal brother-in-law relationship whilst the women would stress their sister-in-law relationship. It is worth noting here that marriage amongst the Tsimanes is reckoned on two generations; ego marries his spouse both because his and her father are brothers-in-law, and because her brother is his brother-in-law, or because his and her mothers are sisters-in-law and because his sister and hers are sisters-in-law (see chapter four). The issue to stress here is that it is the same-sex relationship which is emphasized and is usually a close, enjoyed relationship.

Finally, the emphasis on the close sibling-in-law relationship underlies the Tsimane intent on creating comfortable, efficient and productive forms of sociality. If affines can both get on and work together, not only out of necessity, but because they actually enjoy each other's company, a correct and generative sociality can be created and maintained. If such relations show signs of deteriorating, the solution is met by one party moving away to live and work in another location.

*  

It is clear from the above discussion of cross-generational and same generational residence practices and preferences, that different relationships are stressed at different stages in people's lives. By moving between the households or clusters of parents and parents-in-law, and between those of siblings and siblings-in-law, most of each individual's desires to be with certain kin and affines are satisfied over time. Furthermore, this ability to move throughout the kindred network is highly valued by the Tsimanes. This value was most clearly expressed by those who felt their movement to be restricted.

Such movements and decisions to move involve individuals considering others around them. They are an essential facet of the processual creation of preferred ways of social living. Alternating movements between places and people, illustrate most clearly, the avoidance of undesirable, potentially dangerous situations and people, and the seeking out of those more appropriate, safe and intimate.

A contrast to the work of Gow on the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba will conclude the chapter. He discusses a central problem facing many Amazonian peoples concerning post-marital residence choices. Speaking specifically about the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba, Gow states that, 'Native People's inability to achieve co-residence with all their kin is an
existential problem of life itself rather than the mere failure to follow abstract social rules' (1991:179). The Tsimanes present a solution to this problem. Firstly, they do not want to achieve co-residence with all their kin at the same time. Nevertheless they achieve the ideal serially so to speak by moving and living between different groups of kin. They do this not in an attempt to 'follow abstract social rules' but in a conscious effort to create kinship and desired, appropriate, generative forms sociality.
CHAPTER FOUR: MARRIAGE

Tsimane marriage reveals an unusually high degree of compliance to the marriage preference. It is the enduring strength of the marriage prescription within a context of movement and the value placed upon it, that will be one of the principle concerns of this chapter. I hope to show by means of a discussion of a Tsimane marriage prescription and of actual marriage preferences, how marriage both engenders and encourages movement and is facilitated by it.

I suggest that a large number of 'correct' marriages strengthens certain relationships sometimes separated by distance, and moreover, actually enables close kin to live apart. This is important amongst a people who value fluidity of movement throughout a dispersed kindred group rather than physically bounded communities. Correct marriage facilitates mobility and dispersal rather than perpetuating an endogamous residential group consisting of fictitious links made closer through continued physicality (Belaunde 1992, Overing Kaplan 1975).

Within a system which stresses fluidity and movement, marriage could be perceived as a problematic. Whilst all other relationships may be temporary, revealing a get-up-and-go potential, a married partner is someone one is supposed to stay with. It is difficult or at least more difficult to get up and go from this relationship. This is not to say that the divorce rate is low amongst the Tsimanes. This aspect may in fact partly explain a high divorce rate. But on the other hand most marriages are enduring and it can be suggested that the husband/wife relationship can be seen as a critical organizing principle of Tsimane society. The fact that it is more difficult to leave this relationship creates something lasting.

Rather than seeing marriage however, as a problematic, it can be understood as a means to achieving the fluidity of movement desired by the Tsimanes, whilst solidifying and perpetuating close relationships of each individual's kindred group. While it lasts, it is the relationship of longest enduring physicality which both produces children and brings separated families together, thus serving to create kinship. Marriage draws strands of a kinship network together across physical distance. Marriage creates cohesion and something relatively fixed despite a sense of physical uprootedness and unfixedness.

It seems strange that a number of studies centering on marriage and marriage alliance (notably Lévi Strauss 1969, Dumont 1953) pay little attention to the relationship between husbands and

1 Discrepancies between genealogy and category will be discussed throughout the following pages.
wives in their analyses. Instead, the analyses, predicated on a model of exchange, concentrate on relationships between brother and sister and between same-sex affines. I discuss the husband/wife relationship as central to marriage and to the perpetuation of social living rather than concentrate on the elaboration of alliances between men. Firstly, I wish to take this emphasis because, most importantly for the Tsimanes, marriage is about friendship and conjugal life; a couple has to enjoy each other's company and be able to work well together and alongside each other if their relationship is to be a success. Although their relationship can be interpreted as being both productive and reproductive, this essential quality of love and enjoyment of each other must not be ignored. It is as much about a creation of preferred states of social living as are the relationships between surrounding kin and affines.

In chapter seven I discuss the particular dynamics of the husband/wife relationship within a context of learning how to correctly carry out appropriate productive tasks and master them in a conjugal situation. In the present chapter, marriage will be discussed in the light of the fact that the relationship clearly places members of families into closer relationships to each other (especially cross-sex siblings and same sex siblings-in-law). Although the surrounding kin and affinal relationships both within and across generations will be discussed at length, it is the husband and wife who are to be considered as the producers and reproducers of kinship and social living. They do this not only as a result of their economic interdependence and because they create children (which are clearly crucial aspects of their relationship), but also because in the search for a spouse and in the subsequent welding of affinal relationships, the conjugal relationship perpetuates a further dynamism of social relationships. It provides a means for movement, a means to travel and visit kin, whether they be physically distant or not, and is central to the Tsimane use of movement in its creation of their social universe.

* Tsimane kinship terminology prescribes marriage with a person falling into the category of fom' and this is also the way that Tsimanes talk about what they regard to be correct marriage.

2Lévi Strauss' approach is exemplified by statements such as 'It is through men that group alliances are brought about, just as wars are waged by men' (1943:403), and 'Cross-cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross-cousins....The potential or actual brothers-in-law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of these brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikwara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations' (ibid:407).
Maybury Lewis (1965) recognized that marriage prescriptions were really about categories of persons rather than genealogical connections although certain genealogical relationships are included within the prescribed category of persons (e.g., MBch/FZch). In the case of the Tsimanes, the strength of the marriage preference is revealed, illustrating a large number of close genealogical marriages between MBch/FZch (see Figs. 3, 4 & 5). Despite this frequent occurrence, I do not suggest that it is genealogy which the Tsimanes consider as an overriding influencing factor in marriage considerations. It will be shown how a number of marriages are traceably 'correct' because of previously established relationships through marriage and not as close genealogical kin. These marriages are considered as desirable or correct (as MBch/FZch marriage) because the spouses fall into the correct category of person. Having clarified this point, it is still interesting to note the high percentage of MBch/FZch marriages amongst the Tsimanes, making it the preferred form of marriage.

Rather than interpreting this phenomenon in terms of genealogical considerations, I consider it more pertinent to understand it in relation to notions of knowledge and experience of kin relations. In chapter two I developed the idea that each individual's personal kindred expands with the acquisition of individual experience and knowledge of kin living close or far away. Such knowledge and experience depend on visiting and gossip, upon the direct and indirect enactment of relationships. I suggest that it is because visiting most often occurs between close kin, often dispersed, that they become known and so preferable marriage partners. Again, to reiterate, if the Tsimane desire for appropriate social living was fulfilled by living in centralized settlements with close kin, the emphasis would be less upon visiting and marrying close kin, whether they be distant or far, but instead upon being able to marry into the residential community, and most probably having to create a correct category marriage in its likely absence.

I found it extremely difficult to receive any kind of elaboration upon why a marriage was correct or not from the Tsimanes. This I put down in part to a linguistic problem with regards to asking questions but aside from this, I would be told that marriage with a 'fom' was good marriage and with a non-'fom' was better avoided. Or as one man explained, 'Mo'nash fom' tsun, tupuj

---

3Maybury-Lewis also distinguished between prescriptive and preferential marriage, whereby prescriptions are what are laid out by or embodied in the marriage 'rule' dictated by terminology, and the marriage preference is understood to be what, irrespective of the 'rule', actually happens.

4See later discussion of a Tsimane understanding of category as either MBch or Mother's sister-in-law's child (see Overing Kaplan 1975).

5This is of course circular in that kin are known because of previous visiting and periods of co-residence.
vāmi tsun paj qui mo' ūen'tum, me' nash dyijdye' tsun' - When she is my\(^6\) fom' it is alright to marry so she can be my woman - that is the way we think about it. Also a number of negative comments about marriage between classificatory siblings reflect that such 'incestuous' marriage is not conducive to comfortable or correct sociality. Such comments most frequently referred to marriages taking place along the Cuchisama river which is particularly renowned for problems associated with travelling river salesmen. On a number of occasions I was told that up the Cuchisama river, people live 'too close'\(^7\) as they marry their own siblings so not to have to move away in search of a fom'. The result of a number of such 'close' unions is that most people living along the Cuchisama river are apparently unable to talk. I was told it is as if they were without tongues - itṣi nem in. This disability further discouraged them from moving away from the Cuchisama, thus perpetuating further 'incestuous' marriages there.

Another notion expressed is that sex between siblings is in some ways excessive. On one occasion when a 'brother' and 'sister' had been sighted by a number of people on the beach having intercourse, there followed wild and exaggerated descriptions about the number of times they had had sex and about the extraordinary positions in which they had performed.

Whilst Tsimane kinship terminology prescribes marriage with those people falling into the category of fom', and many unions are actually between people falling into that category, marriage between potential parents-in-law and their potential children-in-law is the most accepted form of known non-fom' marriage in the absence of a fom' - 'Itṣi ra fom' tupuj ra vāmi tsun yayache" - when there are no available fom', it is alright to marry your 'mother-in-law'.

Non-fom' affairs are often attempted when Tsimane men and women have been drinking maize and cassava beer together. I was very interested on a number of occasions however, to note the control of the women, one of whom fended off an approach with 'jam tupuj ne'maqui tsun, jam fom' tsun' - 'it is not alright for us to have sex, we are not fom' to one another' -and the man, defeated, lay down and fell asleep.

The Tsimane kinship terminology may be described as a two-line terminology which divides the

\(^6\)Actually rather than 'my', he used the pronoun 'our' to describe the relationship. This may be because all brothers and classificatory brothers to ego can marry the same category of person. The term otyure' is used to encompass all male kin of ego's generation.

\(^7\)In fact, the Tsimanes never spoke of social relationships in terms of close or distant and in this case stressed the fact that the Cuchisama people did not want to travel afar in search of appropriate marriage partners.
social universe of each individual into kin and affines (see Fig.1 and Fig.2). I was unable to
distinguish any particular terms used by the Tsimanes for kin or affines and expect that such a
division is not perceived by them\(^8\). The kinship terminology does not change after marriage
unless the union has been with a non-fom' and the breadth and depth of the adaptations of
terminology are difficult to trace. It seems that terminology is only adapted to cope with the
changes with kinspeople with whom one has frequent contact\(^9\).

I prefer not to attempt to slot Tsimane relationship terminology into a specific named category but
it shares enough attributes of the so-called Dravidian 'systems' for a consideration of one of the
main issues present in the literature on Dravidian kinship and marriage to be warranted\(^10\). One
of the central debates within the literature on Dravidian kinship and marriage concerns whether
marriage reckoning and the interpretation of alliance is about relationships between kin or
between affines. This is specifically discussed considering the brother and sister relationship and
the same sex affine relationship\(^11\).

When I began working with the Tsimanes I was aware of this debate and hoped thus to be able to
reach an understanding of the phrasing of a Tsimane marriage rule and of their ideas concerning
alliance. They would say that it was good and correct for them to marry someone they call fom',
and it is clear from the genealogies that MBch and FZch fall into this category of person.
However, such clear elaborations upon marriage reckoning such as 'he is fom' to me because
his and my father are brothers-in-law (which Overing Kaplan frequently witnessed amongst the
Piaroa) were never presented by Tsimane men or women. I was unable to clarify whether they
reckon their relationships with others along affinal or kin relationships or whether they reckon
them according to relationships of their own or their parents' generation.

\(^8\)The Tsimane term châtidye' refers to varying levels of relationships of kinship (see also
Overing Kaplan's discussion of the Piaroa term chuwaruwanng (1975)). On one level, it is
used, very much in the same way as the Spanish word pariente, to address and refer to known
people, either Tsimane or non-Tsimane. Non-Tsimanes usually refer to the Tsimanes as their
'parientes'. The term châtidye' is rendered more specific by prefixing it with cul'si' or
yocsi, meaning 'my (or his) own' kin, and 'other kin' respectively. Sometimes Tsimane speak
of specific kinship relationships as anici châtidye', or 'true kin' to distinguish close, known
relationships from those which are less or unknown.

\(^9\)Daillant (1994) offers a very thorough analysis and interpretation of the Tsimane two-line
terminology and of marriage alliance which I will later refer to. See also Araoz (1995).

\(^10\)According to Daillant (1994), a Dravidian system only came into being amongst the Tsimanes
over the last one hundred years. She claims to distinguish today, vestigial parts of a Kareira
system of the past.

\(^11\)For the full debate see Radcliffe Brown (1953), Dumont (1953), Rivière (1969), Overing

73
Really the issue here to be addressed is whether or not to interpret Tsimane marriage choices in terms of alliances. Because of the political connotations of the term alliance, I find it difficult to think of Tsimane marriages within this framework. Little recognition or position appears to be gained through marriage of one's siblings or one's children. The Piaroa Ruwang is recognized as a man of great capabilities and prestige if he can attract and maintain a large residential group of endogamous kin around him and his prestige will attract more people to his Itso'de (Overing Kaplan 1975). Tsimane men and women however, do not have such a position to gain, at least not today\textsuperscript{12}. Having said this, Tsimane men and women express a desire to live close to their children and children-in-law but I am unable to interpret this desire, and its occasional accomplishment as a means to achieve political status or recognition. Instead I understand it as a preference to live close to children and children-in-law because of the enjoyment of their company and because of the help they provide. It is the initiating and rekindling of close kinship relationships facilitated or opened up by marriage and subsequent movements between settlements of both families, which could be labelled 'alliance' in the case of the Tsimanes and it is upon this nature of the relationships resulting from marriage that I wish to concentrate.

Affinity is an issue amongst the Tsimanes and in chapter three I developed upon the apparent blurring of affinal relationships in an effort to mask difference and to create an atmosphere of close kin, at least in situations of co-residence. A further elaboration of Tsimane marriage reckoning and marriage choices below will take both kin and affinal relationships into account, and suggest that the most preferable marriages are those which are genealogically close, precisely because they do not pose a problem of distant affinity to be overcome, because they are known. If ego was brought up in early years with his/her spouse and parents-in-law, their relationships are almost as 'close' as those with his/her own parents and siblings. However, unions between less 'close' partners are not treated as different as those with the ideal 'close' fon'. The potential unknown of affinal relationships is underplayed and a closeness is worked at, although clearly with less ease than in the ideal situation of genealogically and geographically close marriages.

* 

I have stressed the centrality of the husband/wife relationship in an analysis of marriage and the

\textsuperscript{12}It is important to note that Daillant (1994) identifies a dramatic change in Tsimane residence patterns over the last one hundred years. She states how decades before Tsimane social organization was based on endogamous groups and a residence pattern of circular villages. The historical depth of her analysis is admirable.
subsequent relationships between families. I also mentioned that the brother/sister relationship and the same-sex affinal relationship both within and across generations would be considered in a discussion of marriage reckoning and relationships.

When commenting about the overt joking, playful relationship between potential and actual brothers-in-law (vi’ mu’), a number of Tsimane men and women explained that such behaviour occurred and was encouraged because these men had or could marry each other’s sisters. Older brothers-in-law would behave similarly and would stress their relationship to me but through the potential or actual marriage of their children. On one occasion, two brothers-in-law joked between them that one should call me sister so that the other could marry me. I have also noted the playful, joking relationships between sisters-in-law which although not as marked as that between brothers-in-law, could similarly be interpreted as being due to the fact that they can marry each other’s brothers and that their children can and do marry. It would seem from these observations that the in-law relationship is recognizably important in Tsimane marriage reckoning.

It would be tempting to interpret the above in terms of relationships of exchange and Daillant (1994) talks extensively of the exchange of sisters by Tsimane brothers-in-law. She claims that they use the word cambia voji’ or change (in Spanish) sisters to describe the relationship between them. Although, as I have already mentioned, sibling set intermarriage is a frequent and preferred form of marriage, and on several occasions Tsimane same-sex siblings-in-law explained the playful closeness of their relationship by being due to the fact that they could marry each others’ cross-sex siblings, I was never able to understand the relationship as one of an exchange or expectance of reciprocity. The main point being here, that I do not intend and would not be able to elaborate in this thesis, upon notions of exchange between men or women of people or things.

In the previous chapter I discussed the same sex affinal relationships in more depth. I showed how the relationships talked about with most interest and concern by the Tsimane are same sex relationships, both kin and affinal, and yet I also suggested, comparing with examples from Goldman (1963) and Rivière (1969) in particular, that the B/Z relationship is central to marriage reckoning and to an understanding of Tsimane life cycles. The fact is that the children of brothers and sisters marry and the movements and locations of brothers and sisters are constantly gauged and negotiated. Separated brothers and sisters remain in contact through the movements and visits of their married children.
It is also possible to discern a productive and reproductive element underlying the brother and sister relationships (see Rivière 1969 and Goldman 1963). It appears that real and efficient production and reproduction are only truly possible within the context of cross-sex relationships of brother and sister and of husband and wife. I have discussed how, as amongst the Trio and the Cubeo, Tsimane husband and wife relationships appear to replace the economic interdependency of unmarried brothers and sisters. Whilst children of brothers and sisters are not yet of marriageable age, the inherent productive and reproductive potential and quality of the brother/sister relationship lies dormant or at least does not yet reach its full potential. Brothers and sisters at this time may only co-reside sporadically and when they do they have close relationships with each other's children. Although the children of brothers and sisters are classified as fom' and marriageable and the children of two brothers or two sisters are classified as siblings, they are brought up and treated similarly by their potential parents-in-law and by their classificatory mothers and fathers. When the children of brothers and sisters are of marriageable age, it is rare to find the brothers and sisters co-resident and often their children marry.

Occasionally adolescent fom' are co-resident for short periods and are carefully watched, in the cases I was able to observe, by a grandmother. On one occasion when a grandmother was looking after her young adolescent granddaughter in the absence of her mother at Buñí, her grandson was also living in the house. The two grandchildren, related as fom', flirted overtly together until one evening the young girl conspicuously climbed into her fom's mosquito net and the two could be heard giggling loudly. The grandmother rapidly intercepted and persuaded her granddaughter to return to her own bed. A few months later, the grandson moved down river and 'married' another woman.

The tracing of cross-sex relationships through the development cycles of individuals suggests that male-female relationships either as brother/sister or husband/wife both produce and reproduce at different stages in their life cycles. It is the same-sex sibling-in-law relationships however which are most talked about. In this context it would be erroneous to so clearly divide what is going on between brothers and sisters and between same-sex siblings-in-law. The brother/sister relationship is clearly crucial to future marriage and to spatial organization, and a maintained contact of a dispersed close kindred. However, the same-sex sibling-in-law relationships are those emphasized perhaps as a way to blur affinity and remove potential problems of an affinal other.
The previous section suggests that both kin and affinal relationships are at play in Tsimane marriage reckoning and marriage choices. Nevertheless, the crux of the marriage choice clearly involves the woman and man as lovers or as husband and wife. I will now suggest ways in which both kin and affinal relationships brought closer through marital unions may be understood. Anthropologists such as Dumont (1953), Basso (1973) and Overing Kaplan (1975) move away from descent-based kinship analyses founded upon the enduring models of men exchanging women and things and of the strategic creation of group alliances. Instead, they offer analyses which stress the fact that such relationships are ultimately formed between individuals and their families and need not be understood in terms of established alliances between fixed groups of people.

Such approaches are particularly relevant and illuminating when looking at Tsimane material. As I have already clarified, the Tsimanes do not apparently have a social organization based on discernible corporate groups, and their marriages cannot be understood in terms of political strategy by men or women. Instead, as I will develop below, marriages show a tendency for repeating or re-establishing unions of past generations and for repeating them in present generations in the form of a preference for sibling set intermarriage.

Basso (1970, 1973, 1975) writing on Kalapalo marriage, is concerned to move away from a notion of the exchange of men or women between groups and shows how marriage relationships amongst the Kalapalo are about specific relationships today rather than about group membership enduring through generations. As she states, 'In short, 'marriageability' or, rather, 'affinability' is expressed in terms of specific categories of kin but not in terms of units (either categories of kin or local groups) defined through exogamy or endogamy' (1970:412). However, despite her emphasis upon the singularity and temporariness of Kalapalo marriage alliances, she also recognizes how they prefer to establish relationships of alliance with those already in a prior relationship of kinship or affinity. So, 'the majority of 'arranged' marriages are alliances between persons who have prior kinship and/or affinal connections' (1973:88). She again stresses that the notion of alliance is but temporarily defined as it may or may not be repeated in future

13 Encapsulated in statements such as 'It is a universal fact, that the relationship of reciprocity which is the basis of marriage is not established between men and women, but between men by means of women' Lévi-Strauss 1969:116.
14 Dumont stressed that relationships of marriage reveal an enduring element of affinity (see Dumont 1953).
generations. As she explains, 'These groups, however, are related on the basis of specific and individual alliances only, rather than in some generalized definition by which they are conceived of as 'spouse-exchangers' before the fact' (ibid:90).

Overing Kaplan (1975) also reiterates the importance of the repetition of ties established in previous generations in Piaroa marriages. This is something made possible for the Piaroa by endogamous marriage, 'By marrying within his immediate kindred, ego is able to reaffirm not only close ties of kinship, but also affinal ties established in the generation above him. In other words, the endogamous marriage not only initiates, but also reaffirms, an alliance between individuals who already stand in a close kin and affinal relationship to one another' (1975:73). Overing Kaplan stresses again that this notion of serial affinity, emphasizing examples of sibling set intermarriage in particular, is much more pertinent than a concept of exchanging women. In her conclusion, Overing Kaplan also notes the temporary nature of marriage exchanges, 'While in the ideal, the marriage exchange gives the group existence through time, empirically, the marriage exchange has little temporal depth. Rather, the principle here is one of multiple affinity, namely it is the number of alliances held between two men at one point in time, and not through time, that legitimizes their relationship and the unity of the group as well' (1975:198).

When talking about Tsimane marriage and the ties established between families as a result of marriage, I also stress the 'nowness' of the reckoning of a marriage relationship. Although each individual is born into and is rapidly acquainted with a prescriptive marriage terminology, marriage choices are very much about individual choices today, and not about an abstract notion of group cohesion or continuity. So what is emphasized is the temporary firing or enactment of relationships. It is not abstract reckoning but the intimacy of these daily relationships, both divided by movement and marriage, and facilitated by movement and marriage, which make Tsimane preferred social living possible. A preference for the reiteration and repetition of ties as mentioned by Overing Kaplan and Basso may also be discerned in the analysis of Tsimane marriage choices. Below I will illustrate a preference to strengthen or repeat unions created in previous generations and in ego's generation through the common practice of sibling set intermarriages. In such ways, movements and visiting between certain families is repeated.

In light of the above comments about multiple affinity, ideas about marriage preference will be considered. As stated above, the marriage preference is understood to be what, irrespective of the 'rule', actually happens. Rivière (1969) and Overing Kaplan (1975) explicitly state that the overriding importance of marriage choices amongst the Trio and the Piaroa respectively is to facilitate endogamy to a residential kindred group. For the Piaroa, wealth is equated with living
together with lots of people in a close kindred group and the genealogical or categorical 'correctness' of marriage partners is less important than the desire to marry into or within this resident close kindred group. This preference outweighs the prescription to the extent that a large number of Piaroa marriages are with people who actually fall outside the 'correct' category. They are nevertheless treated by everyone as if correct, at the level of appropriately adapting both terminology and behaviour.

I do not suggest that the Tsimanes do not have such 'as-if' marriages^15 but compared to other Amazonian peoples the numbers are low. The majority of Tsimane unions observed reveal the prescription to be the overriding factor influencing the search for a spouse. In contrast to the Trio and the Piaroa, the Tsimanes privilege genealogically 'correct' marriage over close co-residence. This usually implies that in the absence of a geographically close possible spouse, a Tsimane man or woman will go in search of an appropriate partner (fom' quevaqui) instead of entering into an 'as if' correct relationship with someone living conveniently close. Whereas Overing Kaplan describes the articulation of a positive marriage rule with an ideal of endogamy for the Piaroa, I will here consider the implications of a positive marriage rule in the absence of an ideal of endogamy.

I have suggested that marriage enables families to live apart but maintain contact, and that ideal marriages are those between close, known kin who are most often MBch/FZch. Throughout the thesis I explore Tsimane notions of the safe and the potentially dangerous, associating each with ideas of mastering knowledge and intention. I show how the known kindred group exists on a sliding scale according to each individual's kinship knowledge and experience. Apart from emphasizing the fluidity and fickleness of the safer, known kindred network, I discuss the avoidance of unknown and even known people, described as potential killers due to their capacity and likelihood to become angry (see chapter five). It seems that this avoidance and fear verge on the paranoic and should be considered in a context of marriage choices.

This brings me to a key issue of this chapter which relates marriage preferences to the associations the Tsimanes draw between knowledge and experience of kin. An individual and the family of the individual would prefer a union with someone already known. It is perhaps stating the obvious to indicate that contexts in which a partner may be found and taken^16 are invariably therefore with people already known. The closest and known relationships are those experienced

---

15See later section on the altered marriages of the catholic mission of Fatima.
16Tsimanes talk about looking for a partner - quevaqui fom' and about the subsequent 'taking of' the husband or wife - jäců vämtyi/ţen'.
and shared through living together, or at least through extended visits while young. Those people who have most likely lived together as children are MBch/FZch. The emphasis here then, is not
on making non-kin safe through years of co-residence, but is upon perpetuating links with known kin, facilitated to the greatest degree by marriage. It is also their closeness and knowledge
of each other which leads to mutual visiting and the likelihood of subsequent marital unions.

Sibling set intermarriage offers easy access to the most known and hence safe potential marriage partners. When a member of a group of siblings has married into one family, his or her
unmarried siblings are encouraged to visit where he or she has settled with the hope of finding a marriageable partner. Thus sibling set intermarriage leads to an easier knowledge acquisition
about the whereabouts of fom' and visiting is facilitated. One example of this feature involved
two families living a travelling distance of three to four days apart. Juancito Nate, the son of
José-Manuel and Rita at Yucumo Campamento had, unlike most of his siblings, ventured far in
search of a fom' and had married Virginia who lived up river at Fátima. When I first arrived at
Yucumo he was living at Fátima with his wife's parents. On my second trip, he and his wife
were living or visiting for a long time at Yucumo Campamento and Virginia's younger sister had
come with them. She was hanging around the house of her sister's parents-in-law in a slightly
dejected fashion. When I asked why she was there, it was explained that she was simply visiting
- Tui' momo' sóbaqui. Then it was further explained that her father had 'sent her down' to
Yucumo to 'look for a husband' as no-one would marry her at Fátima17. The main point of
describing this case is to illustrate the way in which one marriage may open up and encourage
further marriages for those of the respective siblings.

By carefully choosing a 'correct' marriage partner, two principle issues are at play. One marries a
known and close fom' to avoid the unknown and so the associated attributes of anger and
powers of sorcery, and one further enables an enriching or opening up of kindred networks,
often across large distances.

Within this context of an overriding preference for marriage with a known individual, Tsimane
preferences appear to vary. Marriage with a genealogically and geographically close fom' is said
to be the most desirable and practice reaffirms this. In the absence of a fom' living closeby, the
second preference would be a genealogically close but geographically distant fom'. The

17 In this case, it was less an issue of the availability or not of fom' at Fátima but simply that no-
one was interested in her. Her strange appearance and behaviour were put down to the fact that
she drank large quantities of sugar cane alcohol as a little girl. It was stressed that she was born
normal but that when young children are given alcohol, they invariably become shapul'isi' -
slightly mad or crazy.
important point being here that a Tsimane woman or man is more likely to travel far in search of a **fom**' known to the family than to stay close to home and marry a non-**fom**'. Another possibility is to marry a geographically distant, unclassified or non-**fom**'. As already suggested, marriage with a geographically close person who falls outside the **fom**' category is rare except for the marriages culminated within Fátima which are to be discussed later in the chapter.

The issue to address here is the ambivalence of attitudes towards physical distance and marriage possibilities. This was revealed to me during my initial stay at Yucumo. Whilst Pachene and Ocuña are discussed below as being too small and limited to provide available marriage partners for their younger generations and it is accepted that they will have to travel 'in search of **fom**', the older generations of Yucumo stressed the importance of physically close marriages of the younger generations and encouraged them not to travel far in search of a partner.

The following example emphasizes the parent's and grandparent's desire for the close marriage of their son (grandson) in Yucumo. Demeterio Saravia is married to Marina Nate who can be traced as a genealogically close **fom**' (see Fig. 3 and 3b). They live with their two children between the houses and gardens of their respective parents. Demeterio and Marina had been getting on quite badly for some time and sometimes separated for short periods; Marina and the children staying with her parents and Demeterio with his. Demeterio had been speaking to Belisario Cuata (his **tyuñe** or potential father-in-law) who had been living on and off at Curibaba which lies about one week by canoe and truck down river. He was encouraging Demeterio to leave with him on one of his trips to Curibaba where he had female kin who would classify as marriageable to Demeterio. Demeterio became animated by the idea and planned to accompany Belisario on his next visit. However the very idea fueled gossip in Yucumo, voiced in particular by Demeterio's mother and by his maternal grandfather. Both were distressed by the idea that he would both leave to live in such a distant location and that he would leave Marina for such a 'distant' woman. Actually leaving Marina was not such a problem and his grandfather reiterated that if Demeterio wished for another woman, this was something quite understandable but that he did not have to go so far to look for one as he had a number of unmarried **fom**' actually resident in Yucumo. He named one girl who was currently having an affair with Demeterio's brother Fermiliano. This girl is both geographically and genealogically close to the two brothers and Fermiliano had already expressed to me the joy of her father at the prospects of having him as responsible, hard working son-in-law. Demeterio and Marina, it transpires, did not separate and are still together in their own household.
The following example illustrates a similar desire for close marriage but expressed by ego rather than by his parents and grandparents. Some individuals, when placed in situations of having to go in search of a marriageable partner, lament the fact that they cannot marry close to their parental home. Revonsio Cunai is one such man. He lives with his mother next to a house inhabited by his sister and brother-in-law in the vicinity of the Boca de Yucumo. He was a sad and lonely man at this time as his wife had recently died leaving him a three year old son. He desperately wanted a new wife and constantly discussed his plight and loneliness, especially with his brother-in-laws. Unfortunately for him there were no eligible fom' either in Yucumo or in its proximity, and he realized he would have to travel far to find one and either bring her back to Yucumo or live for some time with his newly found in-laws. He specified Apere (a week away by lorry and then foot) as being an area home to close kin and possible fom' as did many young men from Yucumo. Revonsio was clearly reluctant to travel as far as Apere as he was also quite comfortable living with his mother and close to siblings and siblings-in-law, with whom he had grown up and shared years of his life. One and a half years later Revonsio was still living with his mother and still complaining of how he wanted and needed a wife but had not yet left Yucumo to look for one.

It is also important to point out that this search for a partner (fom' quevaqui) either physically, or mentally, is not usually an arbitrary, wandering process. Each individual has a very precise knowledge of the whereabouts of his/her fom' and I have already discussed how such knowledge increases with age and movement experience. Whenever asked about the location of possible fom', men and women would immediately list a number of settlements where they knew of the presence of people related to them as fom' just as they knew of the presence of classificatory siblings or siblings-in-law.

Whilst the two above examples illustrate most clearly a desire for geographical close marriage in Yucumo, the same marriage preference for fom' marriage overrides the preference for physical closeness. It is true that the agglomeration of households at Yucumo allows and was perhaps allowed by a pool of marriageable people. Such a situation results in less movement and distance visiting between settlements related by marriage. Nevertheless it still remains that Revonsio Cunai did not marry a non-fom' so to remain close to Yucumo and so to further perpetuate a state of virtual settlement endogamy. Instead he emphasized the need to travel far in search of the right partner.
Marcelina Canchi living at the Catholic Mission Fátima also commented frequently about what she perceived to be a problem of distance and marriage choices. She stressed the need for young men (rather than young women) to travel much further nowadays than they had in the past in search of fom'. She pointed out that many of the young men now living at the Mission had travelled from as far as CaraCara and Yucumo (one week travelling up river) to marry their fom' at the mission. She also suggested and I will elaborate upon this point in the next section, that they came to Fátima because there it had become more acceptable to marry someone who fell outside the fom' category. She explained that they came so far because of an absence of fom' in their own settlements and that in the past, before the devastating effects of smallpox and measles epidemics, settlements were much larger and men and women tended not to have to travel far in search of an appropriate partner.

Whilst the last examples suggest physical distance to be undesirable and distant marriages to be a last resort, the following comments by Fermiliano Saravia at the Boca de Yucumo were quite illuminating with regards to an ambivalence expressed about physical distance and marriage choices. They suggest why distant marriage is sometimes viewed (especially by young, unsettled people) in a positive light. Fermiliano, talking one day by the fireside at Yucumo about fom' marriage, mentioned how of course it was possible for him to marry a woman who was not classified as fom'. The most easy way for him to do this, he explained, would be to find a woman far from his own settlement who fell outside his knowledge of his kinship terminology. He therefore would not know if she were classified as a sister or as marriageable to him and so the union would be acceptable. He then continued to explain that the kinship knowledge of his mother was far more extensive than his own. Although he could bring a non-classified woman (within the context of his own knowledge) back to his parental home, his mother would most likely be able to classify his spouse as a classificatory sister or potential spouse (or perhaps even falling outside his own generation).

Fermiliano's comments suggest that the issue of correctness or incorrectness of a union depends on the extension of knowledge of each individual's kinship network. I then asked Fermiliano

---

18 Marcelina Canchi, it should be pointed out, often said things which appeared to me as quite strange in a Tsimane context. It is obviously relevant that she had been living with and working for the Catholic Priest since she was a little girl, and in 1994 she was about 45.
19 I also noted a number of young women who had been 'brought back' to Fátima from similarly distant settlements.
20 Physical distance does not always mean ignorance and it depends on the breadth of knowledge of each individual. Everyone is aware of particular 'nodal points' or concentrations of known kin in distant areas but ultimately of course, kin are to be found almost everywhere whilst concentrated interaction and gossip make them known.
how his mother would react if she were to classify his new spouse as a sister to him and hence as a daughter to her. He immediately replied that she of course would be angry as such unions are not good. As he put it 'jam nash mo'che vami tsun, jeñej ĕui' si' che' voji' tsun. Jam nash me'tsun' - 'We do not marry like that - not with someone who is like a sister. We do not do that'. However he went on, if he really wanted to be with the woman, he would not have to leave her. They could continue together and the problem presented by his mother's knowledge would be overcome by a move away. He explained how distance healed such a wrong. If he and his partner were to return back to his parental home after a while away, the anger of his mother and the problem of their union would have subsided and be replaced with acceptance.

Fermiliano's comments also illustrate the perceived and actual independence of young people in choosing marriage partners. Whilst Revonsio Cunai did not want to travel, many young men in particular²¹, like to move around, visiting a number of lovers in settlements often far from their own. When people talk about such wandering and resulting marriages they usually talk about it as ca'joij or a form of escape, usually dārācan or 'into the forest'. Such references to escaping women and men frequently appear in songs about love adventures. Escaping into the forest (ca'joij dārācan) or to a distant settlement usually describes a 'wrong' marriage and the desire for adventure or for a particular kind of independence of young men and women.

Dolores Saravia at CaraCara was concerned and irritated at the recent 'escape' of her adolescent daughter. She explained that she had most likely gone off 'into the forest' either with or in search of a partner. She was not overly worried by this however, and found it sufficient to occasionally ask passers by if they had noticed her. Her main concern was that she now had no-one to help her in the house. The main point is that such behaviour is usually attributed to young, irresponsible (shapui'tyi') men and women who are not yet looking to seriously settle down. However, many people, when talking about the locations and movements of certain kin, mentioned how after such a ca'joij venture, the couple had become established and lived in between their sets of kin as in more conventional type marriages.

It is knowledge therefore which is often the deciding factor in assessing the 'correctness' of a union. I will expand upon the idea that 'close' marriages reconfirm and strengthen something already intimate and comfortable with the minimum of effort. More distant marriages offer the

²¹ Young women also like to travel but are stronger in expressing their desires to stay close to their mothers and sisters. Also situations often arise for young men, especially in the form of travelling work for non-Tsimanes, which take them away from home. It is often while travelling that they meet and marry a partner. It is much less often that a young woman would leave home for any reason other than to look for a husband.
possibility of a kindling of either unknown relationships or of distant relationships whose intimacy is interrupted by separation.

Even if affines do not visit each other, the shared allocation of time spent in both locations, and gossip, engenders a relationship between the families. A sharing of knowledge and intimacies takes place which further facilitates possible future marriages. Although there is a marked preference for close marriage, and many marriages may be traced as both being genealogically and geographically close unions, geographically distant unions with close *fom'* are perhaps the most important in terms of maintaining some cohesion between dispersed kinspeople.

There are also many young women and men who privilege their ability to move around over the desire to live close to their parents and siblings. The important point here being that although it is not difficult to detect a marriage preference amongst the Tsimanes, and a large majority of the marriages comply with this, not to consider individual desires and adventures would be unrealistic and would undermine the independence of single women and men in seeking possible marriage partners.

I have argued that Tsimane marriage choices perpetuate certain relationships which both enable and are enabled by movement. This is particularly important given the paranoic fear of the angry, sorcerizing other and the circumvention of this in the creation of appropriate styles of social living. The Tsimanes are explicit both about their desire to move between sets of kin and affines, and to simultaneously experience moments of close conviviality. Both these preferences may be temporarily fulfilled by the placing of a strong value on a fluidity of movement and individual choice. *Fom'* marriage is a crucial element in these negotiations in that it allows people to move amidst an arena of close, known kin.

* 

I will now expand upon the issues introduced, in the light of a number of ethnographic examples. It will be apparent that some of these examples are those already described in the previous chapter. This is somewhat inevitable given that chapter three was about movements between sets of kin and affines and the desires and decisions about who it is preferable to live and work with. Clearly marriage choices are intextricably linked to residence choices. When an individual chooses whom to marry, he/she is also considering with whom else to live and work in the process.
The first example centering on Bautimo Lero and Amalia Nate (see Fig. 4)) is an example I would describe as a most preferable or desirable situation resulting from a number of marriage choices and residence decisions. Their settlement pattern is typical of non-missionary influenced settlements, consisting of three houses arranged in a tight cluster. Bautimo and his wife Amalia live with their unmarried son Pedro in one house. At the time of my stay, the other two houses, each facing that of Bautimo and Amalia, were inhabited by two of Bautimo's and Amalia's daughters and their husbands and children. Their other daughter was living with her husband's family at Anachere, a similar settlement lying about one day down river. The genealogical diagram illustrates the **fom** union of Bautimo's and Amalia's daughters and of the union between Bautimo and Amalia. It is clear from the diagram that a. Bautimo and Amalia are related to each other as MBch/FZch and b. that Bautimo's sister married Amalia's brother as an example of sibling set intermarriage.

I underline this to show, as I have previously emphasized, not that there is a notion of sibling exchange in terms of reciprocity. Sibling set intermarriage is preferable amongst the Tsimanes because it means siblings have the option of remaining closer. Their negotiations of fewer kin and affinal commitments involves a minimum of effort. This is particularly relevant when kin tend not to live all together in a single, endogamous settlement but are scattered often at considerable distances apart. Furthermore, it is clear that many of the children resulting from the sibling set intermarriages have married each other.

These genealogical details must now be understood within a context of residence as not all the people depicted live together. Elias Lero now lives at Yucumo (three days down river) and Fidel Apo, in particular, traced many links for me with his kin from Yucumo. Francisco Nate lives at Cosincho (two days down river) where another brother of Amalia's also lives, and she stressed that she frequently visited Cosincho to see her brother and father. When I was living with Bautimo and Amalia, they were co-residing with Francisca and Fidel and with Asunta. Bautimo's sisters and one of Amalia's brothers were living at Anachere and Dolores and Angel were there living with Angel's mother Petrona.

I have already described the peripatetic movements of these young couples with their young children between the settlements of Ocuña and Anachere, and of the visits of their parents. On one such visit, when Bautimo and Amalia were visiting Anachere, I was struck by the immediate warmth and intimacy displayed and felt between the older set of siblings. Food and drink was
readily shared and I was able to detect none of the awkward, timid behaviour I often associated with visiting on river trips\textsuperscript{22}. Here there were brothers and sisters (in-law) who had spent some of their childhood together and their children had also married, thus further solidifying their relationship and adding reason for mutual visits.

These settlements lie a day apart, but before marriage, Bautimo explained that he and his parents had also lived at Anachere. As a young, single man, he had moved away to look for a fom' and he and Amalia, his wife had returned to live sporadically at Anachere with his sister and her brother. Now his daughters are married and live between Anachere and Ocuña, Bautimo and Amalia keep close contact with their siblings through the marriages of their children.

In the previous chapter I detected the framework of a pattern whereby siblings tend to aggregate and disperse, depending on the age and marriageability of their children and their variety of dependencies and needs. The main point here is that Bautimo and his sisters, and Amalia and her brother, do not live together now. Bautimo and Amalia decided many years ago to move up river 'because of fish' rather than staying and forming a settled, endogamous community. They still remain close through the movements and sharing of co-residence and cooperation of their married children, without actually living together. It is clear that previous to marriage, their children had frequent contact when young, and so are known and close to each other as a result of periods of physical co-residence and genealogy. It should also be emphasized here that notions of closeness and known kin becoming affines are not confined only to ego's generation. Parent-child (in-law) relationships are as relevant as sibling (in-law) relationships when considering marriage and residence preferences. Parents and children-in-law prefer to have known each other previously and to have had prior residence experience.

This example illustrates some of the issues introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Firstly, centralized, physical settlements are not perpetuated by marriage but instead the movements between small but closely connected settlements\textsuperscript{23} are encouraged and facilitated by a large proportion of genealogically correct fom' marriages. These marriages also follow a pattern or a repetition of links established in previous generations and serially repeat them in the same generation by means of a number of sibling set intermarriages. As mentioned, this example is one of the most closed or 'perfect' but nevertheless is quite typical of many Tsimane marriages and residence patterns I came across.

\textsuperscript{22}The importance of this easy nature of food sharing with the visitors will be revealed in chapter seven where the commonly restricted form of food distribution is discussed.

\textsuperscript{23}They are connected by both kin and affinal links.
The following example of a similar three house cluster at Pachene (see Map 4 and Fig. 4) shows a similar repetition of links across and within generations and a tendency of young couples to move, live and work between locations. The difference here however, is that two of the marriages of the youngest generation, although described to me as *anici fom'* (true or actual fom') unions are not quite so genealogically close (in fact I am unable to trace any relationship whatsoever between the couples). Although the young couples move between locations, their parents do not enjoy mutual, close relationships. I was unable to discover the extent to which they knew each other before the marriages and whether they ever saw each other as a result of the marriages\textsuperscript{24}.

The marriage between Crisanto and Carmen, I at first understood to be a union culminating in Fátima and therefore unlikely to be genealogically traceable (see later section). However it is a good example to illustrate how not only genealogy is at play in the reckoning of appropriate or desirable spouses. It suggests that experience and knowledge are essential ingredients for spouse reckoning. Whilst the marriage between Crisanto and Carmen was not reckoned genealogically, it repeats links previously established by the initial marriage of Crisanto's brother Pascual to a classificatory sister of Carmen.

The other interesting point about these relationships is the distance involved. Yacama, home to Pascual and Menchura and other closely reckoned kin to the Tayo's from Pachene, is about a week's travel from Pachene. Furthermore, people from Pachene, upon discussing their genealogies, mentioned frequent contact and shared relations with people from Yacama. Whilst I was living at Crisanto's and Carmen's house near the mouth of the Pachene river, two young men from Yacama were busily preparing gardens and building houses at Maniquicito, a little way up river. They were planning to bring their wives and children to live there. This example again illustrates a lack of concern with physical proximity and convenience in reckoning marriage.

To return to the Pachene genealogy, Lorencia Lero was born and brought up on the Cuverene (see Map 1). Her husband Serafín Tayo, lived for most of his life prior to marriage on the Rio Maniquí, mostly at Catamare where his sister still lives. He described how he travelled to Cuverene ‘in search of a fom’\textsuperscript{t}. He ‘found’ Lorencia (which was not difficult as she is his MBch and they probably spent times of their childhood together), and brought her back to the Maniquí river. Since then they have lived in various places on the Maniquí between the mouth of

\textsuperscript{24}This even causes me to wonder, being one of the rare cases of non-related affines, if there is an interest at the older generation, to create and maintain close links.
the Tsimane river and Pachene, where they are now settled. Again it is clear from the diagram that Serafin's brother and Lorencia's sister also married. Lorencia and Serafin live in the same house as their unmarried son José and the other two houses of the cluster are alternately lived in by their married daughters and sons.

Their daughter and one of their sons married children of Serafin's sister Dolores, who lives two days down river at Catamare. Lorencia and Serafin see Dolores every August when they camp on a beach opposite her house and harvest coffee grown there decades ago. Meanwhile they hear about each other frequently as their married children live and work in both locations throughout the year. It is worth noting here that it is the brother/sister relationship between Serafin and Dolores which was stressed to me by Serafin, as he claims not to have known her first husband (father to Domicia who is married to one of Serafin's sons) and avoids Isidoro whom he believes to be a dangerous man. This is rare, since, as I have pointed out, brothers-in-law usually share close relationships and constantly talk about each other. Furthermore, they tend to reckon other relationships through each other whether in their generation when searching for spouses for themselves, or in the subsequent generation, when considering marriage possibilities for their children.

The two Tayo sons, Trinidad and Miguel, married to the Canchi sisters Salomé and Saavera, also live occasionally at Pachene when they are not at Buñí with their wives' mother Petrona. Each couple has a house and cultivates fields in both locations. However, as I mentioned, the movements of the young couples between Buñí and Pachene do not appear to have warmed or created relationships between the Tayo and Canchi parents. The sibling and sibling-in-law relationships of the younger generation and their respective relationships with their parents and parents-in-law are constantly heated by periods of co-residence. The parents in contrast, rarely if ever see each other, nor are they particularly interested in each other. The main point here however, is that their relationships are temporarily important and further perpetuate marriages and subsequent movements even if they cannot be traced back to be repeating links in previous generations.

I have already mentioned the affinity Thomas' ethnography on the Pemon (1982) shares with that of the Tsimanes. His analysis of Pemon marriage sheds light upon some of the comments made above about Tsimane marriage. He describes the difficulty he had in tracing a continuity of a
close kindred group in residence patterns amongst the Pemon. He explains this by the fact that young men live for several years with their parents-in-law doing brideservice, but that when older they attempt to regroup with their brothers. Conversely, while young sisters tend to live together, as their husbands later wish to regroup with their brothers, they inevitably become dispersed. This means, says Thomas; that 'the only possibility for 'perpetuation' of the sibling set is the marriage of offspring of a brother - sister pair' (p.90). He continues to state how, 'Of course, siblingship in one generation gives way to marriage in the next, and Pemon society must thus literally recreate itself in each generation through the marriages which are contracted by members of that generation' (p.90). Thomas seems to concentrate less however on the implications of the associated same-sex sibling-in-law relationship whilst considering the prime importance of the brother-sister relationship in the 'perpetuation' of Pemon society.

Similarly, Goldman (1963) stresses the central position of the brother-sister relationship in the reckoning of marriage choices at the next generation, 'The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages' (1963;121). He continues to explain how sibling exchange in the form of cross-cousin marriage is the most desirable form of marriage for the Cubeo, 'since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationships between a brother and sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation' (p.122). Goldman describes the way in which brothers and sisters are invariably separated at marriage but that they visit each other and try to arrange marriage of their children to one another, 'The principal way in which brothers and sisters maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another' (p.137). Goldman also points out that as Cubeo visits are usually to other close kin, they are most likely to look for and find marriage partners for themselves and for their children where previous marriages have already been established. These considerations are also clearly relevant in understanding the Tsimane preference for marriage between MBch and FZch.

For a final example to illustrate this common theme in Amazonian ethnography, I turn to Rivière's comments about Trio brother/sister and husband/wife relationships (1969). Rivière disagrees, as I have mentioned, with Dumont's insistence that affinity is about the relationship between same-sex affines and states, 'What Dumont calls affinity I would translate as rights and obligations between brothers and sisters' (p.276), and goes on to stress the brother/sister relationship in his analysis of Trio marriage. The Trio stress the importance of the brother/sister
relationship and its influence infiltrates into every aspect of Trio life. For a man his sister represents the inside, and the dyadic relationship symbolizes harmony and security; marriage with the ZD not merely reaffirms the relationship but adds the single missing component, the sexual aspect' (p.276).25

As I have already clarified, I am unable to detect whether the Tsimanes privilege the brother/sister relationship or the same-sex sibling-in-law relationship in their reckoning of marriages. This is because both kinds of relationships are important. The Tsimanes tend to talk more of their same-sex siblings-in-law when they mention the marriages of their children than of their brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, the location of their cross-sex siblings and their relationships with them are obviously crucial to reckoning and negotiating marriage choices. In the previous chapter, I suggested that such a stress on talking about one’s same-sex siblings-in-law, upon loving them and wanting to be with them, could be interpreted as a way of removing potential conflict and discord inherent in affinity.

The previous examples are both of small settlements lying at considerable distances from each other and in the majority of unions, illustrate the importance of genealogical closeness and a repetition of links established both within and across generations in marriage choices. It is also obvious that such choices perpetuate movements between clusters and so help to maintain an intimacy between members of a close kindred group who prefer to travel to see each other than to live together. The following genealogies and marriage choices are taken from Yucumo, which consists of a large number of closely related clusters lying relatively close to each other. Such an agglomeration of clusters can partly be explained by the influence of the New Tribes Missionaries who have introduced a bilingual school/church in Yucumo. The result (and perhaps the cause) of such an agglomeration is a large pool of marriageable kin and less movement of young men and women away in search of fom'. The majority of marriages, as is clear from the genealogy in Yucumo, are with genealogically correct and geographically close fom' (see Figs 3 and 3b).

A quick glance at Fig.3 is enough to take in the large number of MBch/FZch marriages

25Overing (1973) has pointed out how Rivière later on appears to contradict his insistence on understanding Trio marriage through the brother-sister relationship, by drawing our attention to the affinal implications of marriage. This becomes apparent in statements about the marriage relationship such as: 'the alliance is merely the start of a continuous flow of obligations and prestations between the two families which lasts not only through the duration of the alliance but may be renewed by a further exchange of women in the following generation' and follows on to emphasize that 'These affinal exchanges are so important in every sphere of Trio life that marriage, which brings them into being, can be said to be the generative force in Trio society' (1969:164).
culminated in Yucumo made possible by a large number of co-resident brothers and sisters over several generations (with Pascual and his three wives recognizably the pivotal unit in the configurations). A large number of genealogically correct unions at each generation further allow for new correct marriages in the following generation. Residence patterns related to these marriages illustrate close co-residence at the Boca de Yucumo of many families but also relationships with Charatón, Cosincho, Yucumo Campamento, Núcleo 24, Curibaba and Pampita.

It seems in contrast with the previous examples cited of Pachene and Ocuña, that Yucumo presents a particular pull for married couples, even when one of the couple comes from relatively distant settlements such as Pampita and Cosincho. During my stay at Yucumo I was much less aware of a movement of couples between locations as I had been in other settlements. There were a number of couples who did come and go however26. Belisario Cuata (from Curibaba) and Anselma Viye (who was born and brought up in Yucumo) were one such couple who were cultivating fields both at Yucumo and a week down river at Curibaba. Constant information about his mother-in-law's brother (his father) and other kin down river would be brought back to Yucumo. The example provided above of Demeterio Saravia wanting to 'escape' from Yucumo to Curibaba in search of a woman, illustrates well the potential for further marriages across large distances, made possible by previous unions and movements.

I have spoken at length in the previous chapter of the links between Yucumo Boca and Campamento (an 8 hour walk through the forest). Most residents of both the Boca and the Campamento have lived at times in their lives in both locations. Whilst it is clear that at the Boca, it is Pascual's co-resident sisters which provide so many fom' at the next generation, three of Pascual's brothers live at the Campamento and their children have also intermarried with Boca fom'. The marriages between the Saravia's and the Nate's (see Fig.3b) however provide a particularly good example of a repetition of ties both within and across generations and of the subsequent movements between locations. It is also relevant to note the way in which these marriages were reckoned. The two mothers Lorencia Viye and Rita Noza call each other dyin' - sister-in-law because their father and mother respectively were brother and sister. It is through their relationship as dyin' that their children are reckoned as fom' and not through a brother-sister relationship at this generation. Lorencia calls José Manuel Nate brother because he is

26It is also probably relevant that this was where I began fieldwork and I was far less aware of the importance of movements between locations and different sets of kin and affines. Perhaps much more fluidity of residence between Cosincho, Pampita, Curibaba and Yucumo was present than I was aware of.

92
married to her sister-in-law (prior to this marriage no relationship was recognized between them). It is also worth noting, in the context of this example that when Lorencia Viye goes to the Campamento, she stays with her sister-in-law Rita Noza and husband, rather than with the families of her father's brothers. Not only did she not stay with these latter families but she would often comment about their unsavoury behaviour and talk - *dai' a'chis peyacdye* (see chapter five).

Three Saravia brothers married three Nate sisters and I have described in the last chapter how the three young couples live alternately between the Boca and Campamento. When I first lived at Yucumo, the younger Nate son Germán said he had no interest in marrying but expressed his desires to be with his Saravia brothers-in-law. During his travels to the Boca with them, he constantly saw Antonia, the young, unmarried Saravia sister but they tended to avoid each other. A year later, I heard that they had married and were also travelling and living between the Boca and Campamento. The relevant issue here and that discussed in the previous chapter is to note the fluidity of movement between the Boca and Campamento, which is encouraged and made further possible by the marriages between the two locations as are intimate relationships between the two families.

The marriages discussed in Pachene, Ocuña and Yucumo all show a strong tendency for MBch/FZch marriage at all generations and a repetition of links established both in past generations and in ego's generation, through frequent sibling set intermarriage.

Finally, although many of Yucumo's marriages reveal a tendency to live close to both parental homes because of a large agglomeration of households, the marriages from all locations illustrate ways in which relationships between families are established and re-enacted by oscillating movements between settlements. Such a situation I have argued is desirable and conducive of preferred and appropriate social living amongst the Tsimanes. It allows for the enjoyment of intimacy and conviviality amongst kinspeople whilst enabling individuals to assert their autonomy and intention in their decisions to move between different sets of kin and affines. Marriage is the primary motivating and facilitating force behind the achievement of this aspect of human sociality.

*The previous sections have concentrated upon the way in which genealogically close marriages are those which are known and safer and are those which create possibilities for further*
(2) Santos Tayo y Augustina Tayo.
(3) Cecilio Durbani y Fabiana Cayawara.
(4) Miguel Tayo y Emilia Pache.
(5) Horiberto Tayo y Cristina Tayo.
(6) Lorenzo Saravia y Natividad Tayo.
(7) Emilio Tayo y Juana Canchi.
(8) Félix Canchi y Marcelina Pache.
(9) Mario Nave y Selma Canchi.
(10) Ismael Nave y Encarnación Nave.
(11) Martín Tayo y Asunción Nave.
(12) Pablo Tayo y Carmen Tayo.
(13) Manuel Saravia.
(14) Alfredo Saravia.
(15) Justo Apo y Mauricia Lero.
(16) Benjamín Canchi y Paulina Tayo.
(17) Emilio Tayo y Asunta Canchi.
(18) Maximiliano Canchi y Justa Vaca.
(19) Julián Canchi
(20) Rogelio
(21) Javier Canchi y María Pache.
(22) Antonio Canchi y esposa.
(23) Juan Tayo.
(24) Miguel Durbani y Juana Canchi.
(25) Cándido Huasnay.
(26) Darío Canchi y esposa.
(27) Nativi Durbani.
(28) Vicente Nave y esposa
(29) Serafín Nave y Augustina Lero.
(30) Manuela Nave.
(31) Máximo Durbani y Modesta Lero.
(32) Fermín Lero y María Durbani.
(33) Samuel
(34) Tomás Nave y Cruz Durbani
| 1  | Juan Pache.                      | 46 | Miguel Durbani.                        |
| 2  | José Pache.                      | 47 | Nativi Durbani.                        |
| 3  | Toribia Canchi.                  | 48 | Cruz Durbani.                          |
| 4  | Jorge Pache.                     | 49 | Tomás Nate.                            |
| 5  | Candelaria Canchi.               | 50 | Serafín Nate.                          |
| 6  | Manuel Canchi.                   | 51 | Augustina Lero.                        |
| 7  | Trinidad Lero.                   | 52 | Manuela Lero.                          |
| 8  | Pastor Pache.                    | 53 | Ernesto Pache.                         |
| 9  | Serafín Apo.                     | 54 | Rosauro Apo.                           |
| 10 | Margarita Pache.                 | 55 | Casilda Apo.                           |
| 11 | Gregorio Lero.                   | 56 | Barbarita Apo.                         |
| 12 | Jorge Pache.                     | 57 | Margarita Canchi.                      |
| 13 | Juan Canchi.                     | 58 | Mateo Canchi.                          |
| 14 | Florentina                       | 59 | Gerardo Canchi.                        |
| 15 | Salvador Tayoa.                  | 60 | Lidia Canchi.                          |
| 16 | Santos Tata.                     | 61 | Isabel Canchi.                         |
| 17 | Modesto Pache.                   | 62 | Eduardo Canchi.                        |
| 18 | Felipa Canchi.                   | 63 | Lorenzo Saravia.                       |
| 19 | Antonio Tayo.                    | 64 | Natividad Tayo.                        |
| 20 | Natividad Coata.                 | 65 | Asunta Tayo.                           |
| 21 | Borja Canchi.                    | 66 | Santos Tayo.                           |
| 22 | Rosa Nare.                       | 67 | Mauricio Canchi.                       |
| 23 | Felicidad Obobo.                 | 68 | Juan Canchi.                           |
| 24 | Nativi Durbani.                  | 69 | Emilio Tayo.                           |
| 25 | Julián Durbani.                  | 70 | Augustina Tayo.                        |
| 26 | Santosa Obobo.                   | 71 | Darío Canchi.                          |
| 27 | Ignacio Nare.                    | 72 | Durbani.                               |
| 28 | Asunta Canchi.                   | 73 | Durbani.                               |
| 29 | Miguel Canchi.                   | 74 | Durbani.                               |
| 30 | Jorge Pache.                     | 75 | Domitila Durbani.                      |
| 31 | Justo Apo.                      | 76 | Petrona Durbani.                       |
| 32 | Maurcia Lero.                    | 77 | Durbani.                               |
| 33 | María Pache.                     | 78 | Valentín Nare.                         |
| 34 | Javier Canchi.                   | 79 | Vicente Nare.                          |
| 35 | Maximiliano Canchi.              | 80 | Angel Nare.                            |
| 36 | Justa Vaca.                      | 81 | Cándido Huasnay.                       |
| 37 | Miguel Tayo.                     | 82 | Dorotea Nare.                          |
| 38 | Emilia Pache.                    | 83 | Valentina Nare.                        |
| 39 | Marcelina Pache.                 | 84 | Riboria nare.                          |
| 40 | Felix Canchi.                    | 85 | Cecilio Canchi.                        |
| 41 | Fidel Tayo.                      | 86 | Demetrio Canchi.                       |
| 42 | Martina Canchi.                  | 87 | Alejandro Canchi.                      |
| 43 | Pablo Canchi.                    | 88 | Alfonso saravia.                       |
| 44 | Agapita Pache.                   | 89 |                                        |
| 45 | Juanita Canchi.                  | 90 |                                        |
movements and relationships between close kin. The following cases of three generations of marriages culminated at the catholic mission Fátima, reveal most evidently the creativity, improvisation and adaptability in marriage reckoning. The Fátima marriages also illustrate most adequately the considerable strength of the Tsimane marriage prescription, understood most clearly here as being categorical rather than genealogical.

A Catholic Redemptorist priest has been resident at Fátima since 1958. He is now an old man and less rigorous in his expectations of his work and of the Tsimanes. However during the first twenty to thirty years of his stay he managed to have a profound, altering effect on the Tsimane practice of Fom' marriage. It can be seen from Fig.5 that most of the marriages culminated in past generations at Fátima are between people who are not related as Fom'. Without looking at diagrams, this became immediately obvious at Fátima when I found that older couples shared the same surname, an occurrence never encountered outside Fátima. When I asked people at Fátima of the strange combinations of surnames in so many marriages, they became very uncomfortable and did not want to develop upon the point. Marcelina Canchi, a Tsimane woman who has lived and worked with the Priest since he arrived, said that this simply occurred at Fátima because of large agglomerations of surnames. She explained that here, such large numbers of the same surnames did not indicate that those sharing a surname were closely related, which in any other Tsimane settlement would be the case.

A number of cases of strange combinations of surnames were clarified by checking the marriage records kindly lent to us by the Priest. Because the Priest had been and still is adamantly against the birth of illegitimate children (in Fátima, marriages are officially celebrated in church), a number of unmarried women who still were encouraged to baptize their children preferred not to reveal the name of the child's father. Thus a number of residents of Fátima are recorded with their mother's surname. When individuals spoke about this confusion they stressed their embarrassment and fear of the Priest. However parents and children were fully aware of the confusion concerning names. Even if the Priest had recorded someone with their mother's surname, everyone knew who the father was. One man, now about thirty, laughed when he explained that the records and the Priest knew him as Fermin Lero, his mother being a Lero, but that of course he really was a Nate as was his father.

The main issue, however to be discussed in the context of this chapter is the fact that whilst the Priest was very efficient in destroying fom' marriages for two to three generations, he has now lost his energy and rigour, and the Tsimanes of Fátima have returned to a pattern of considerably strict fom' marriage. The diagrams reveal a high number of MBch/FZch marriages occurring in
the last two generations. A repetition of links is not so traceable back through generations here because of the confusion of past generations. Nevertheless they are obvious at ego's generation with a high number of sibling set intermarriages again evident.

Because of an agglomeration of clusters at Fátima, resulting mostly from missionary influence, many marriages do not take place across considerable distances and families related by marriage may only lie a twenty minute walk apart. However a large number of marriages at Fátima are also with people who have been 'brought back' to Fátima from distant settlements or who travelled to Fátima in search of a spouse. I was interested by the fact that Javier Canchi, who is apparently the most strongly influenced man by the Priest, in that he now runs a small shop and prays to a shrine in his house, has encouraged correct fom' marriages for all his children. The last one between Margarita Canchi and Ernesto Pache occurred across a distance of one week's travel. This couple are genealogically 'correct' fom' to each other (see Fig.5) and again as in all the cases previously discussed, this factor is overriding in the marriage choice. The fact that Margarita may have to leave her parental home and live for long periods in a settlement a week away is sad especially for Margarita, her mother and sisters, but is still preferable to her marrying a non-fom' just so she can stay close to home.

These strange adaptations at Fátima illustrate more than anything the strength of the marriage prescription amongst the Tsimanes. This is not to be understood as a way of perpetuating group continuity but as a temporary way of relating families together, not always but often separated by physical distance. Such relationships are solidified by sibling set intermarriages and through repetitions across generations. Such repetitions across generations have been altered at Fátima but are beginning to re-consolidate themselves as the last two generations have firmly stuck to fom' marriages.

It was also interesting to note that when talking about Fátima marriages in other Tsimane settlements, many Tsimanes, some of whom had lived at Fátima in the past, became extremely heated when considering the past non-fom' marriages of the Mission. They would repeat over and over again how bad such marriages were, and reiterate the correctness of fom' marriage. Also, in a number of cases, individuals had come to Fátima 'in search of a partner' due to a lack of fom' close to home. In such cases, whether the partner was fom' or not was of far less importance than it usually would be. The irregular marriage practices of past generations have therefore given rise to more tolerance for non-fom' marriage at Fátima on the one hand, and wide criticism of the practice on the other.
As I said at the beginning of the chapter, further elaboration on the importance of correct marriage was not provided by the Tsimanes to me. Nevertheless, the constant gossip and comments about fom' and non-fom' marriage, reveal the saliency of the role of 'correct' marriage in creating preferred and desirable forms of sociality amongst the Tsimanes. My interpretation of Tsimane discourse and practice relating to correct fom' marriage suggests that it is defined by, and further defines the known and safe individual kindred network. The latter is mapped out over and across considerable distances. In this way, two aspects which I understand to be most pronounced in the Tsimane creation of desirable sociality are achieved. The desire to move frequently and independently is fulfilled whilst remaining within a network of known and safe kinspeople. Marriage within the known network is intimate and engenders further conviviality and intimacy amongst kinspeople. Simultaneously it provides a way for kinspeople to live apart without running the risk of losing contact.
CHAPTER FIVE: AN ESCAPE FROM ANGER

Serafín's brother-in-law Isidoro was, by wide opinion, considered a man who 'knew how to get angry' - chij fácoijdye. Serafín and most other Tsimanes I met living in that area of Tsimane territory, remarked upon his anger and upon the fact that he was better avoided and left alone. Isidoro was also renowned as a sorcerer and hence someone who knew how to cure but also how to kill. His son, Juan was equally known for his anger. Juan is married to Serafín's daughter Toribia, and spends considerable periods of time co-resident with Toribia's parents and siblings (see Map 4 & Fig.4). Despite a sense of intimacy created in periods of co-residence, both Toribia's parents and brothers were quick to let me know of their dislike and distrust of Juan. I noted Juan to be considerably more forward and almost brash in comparison with most Tsimanes I had grown to know over the months. His presence and speech lacked the usual discretion, and he both spoke and laughed a little too loudly. He strode rapidly in and out of his own house and of those of others. He asked directly for things and made considerable demands of me and others around him. His affines described their dislike of him in terms of his ability to quickly anger, to lie and to steal. Juan, like his father was occasionally sought for his curing abilities and his capacity to 'see' (see chapters six and eight). Simultaneously he was believed to know how to sorcerize and harm people - chij farajtacsi.

Subtle observations of the ways of others are perpetually recorded by every Tsimane. The nuances of mood, of body posture and voice, of self and others, encapsulate what is implied by an individual's presence in the social world. Talk about these creates a discourse which I argue, provides an evaluating commentary about states of sociality. Furthermore, it itself asserts creative impact upon social relationships. In this chapter I discuss how the idiom through which Tsimanes explain their social world, attribute meaning to it, valorize it, and in turn create it, is essentially one of 'emotion talk' (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990).

Words, voices and presence perceived as angry, are ideally avoided when possible. I was frequently surprised by the constant reference to anger, both as an expression of distaste and as divulging reasons for movement. It is most often Tsimane talk about anger -fácoijdye', which provides an emotional idiom through which they express and attribute meaning to social relationships. Anger talk, furthermore catalyses movement. The oscillations occurring between moods, people and places, receive their dynamism I suggest, from anger talk. This emotional idiom therefore both interprets and provides an energizing force behind movement.

The sphere of emotions has provided anthropologists with a fruitful area in which to explore the ever contested divide or meeting of individual and cultural processes. Authors such as
Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), Rosaldo (1980, 1984), Abu-Lughod (1986) and Lutz (1988) all define their interest in an anthropology of emotions, as a move away from a prior bias in the study of emotions, which privileged the private domain of individual, internal states as being predicated on notions of psychobiological processes. These writers venture into a discursive, interpretative realm which places emotions and 'emotion talk' firmly within a social context, and analyze ways in which emotions and concepts of self are social creations. They do not negate the force of emotion nor a possibility of subjective feeling (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:18), but choose to concentrate upon social discourse and creation of emotion. 'We argue that emotion talk must be interpreted as in and about social life rather than as veridically referential to some internal state' (ibid:p.11). Or, as Rosaldo states, 'Central to the developments evoked here is an attempt to understand how human beings understand themselves and to see their actions and behaviours as in some ways the creations of those understandings. Ultimately the trend suggests, we must appreciate the ways in which such understandings grow, not from an 'inner' essence relatively independent of the social world, but from experience in a world of meanings, images and social bonds, in which all persons are inevitably involved' (1984:138).

Abu-Lughod and Lutz in discussing Bourdieu's (1977) notion of embodiment, perhaps go a little further than previous anthropologists concerned with reaching an understanding of the relation between individual and social experience. Following their discussion of how emotion is actually created in speech, they stress how they follow Bourdieu in recognizing the central importance of bodily experience in an understanding of emotional process. They do not want to be understood as rejecting the body, but by recognizing that emotions may be embodied, they are not to be posited as 'natural' states. In the words of Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 'The move to ensure that emotions remain embodied, however, should be seen as more than an attempt to position them in the human body. Embodying the emotions also involves theoretically situating them in the social body such that one can examine how emotional discourses are formed by and in the shapes of the ecologies and political economies in which they arise. Emotion can be studied as embodied discourse only after its social and cultural - its discursive - character has been fully accepted' (p.13)1.

In taking a discursive approach, Abu-Lughod and Lutz are careful to define what is incorporated in the idea of discourse. They use discourse both in terms of the way in which it reflects upon thought or experience, thereby applying meaning to the world, and in how it

---

1 A quotation they provide from Bourdieu encapsulates I think, what is meant by embodiment in this context; '...the 'book' from which the children learn their vision of the world is read with the body, in and through the movements and displacements which make the space within which they are enacted as much as they are made by it' (Bourdieu 1977:90).
actually participates in the creation of thought and experience. As such, the communicative aspects of emotional discourse are themselves operative. In their own words, 'The focus on discourse allows not only for insight into how emotion, like the discourse in which it participates, is informed by cultural themes and values, but also how it can serve as an idiom for communicating, not even necessarily about feelings but about such diverse matters as social conflict, gender roles, or the nature of the ideal or deviant person' (1990:11). By attributing meaning to thought and experience, discourse thereby further creates human worlds. Interpretation manifest in discourse transforms and thus creates experience.

In providing explanations about the world, social relations and movements in particular, the commentary present in Tsimane emotion discourse is highly value-laden. Lutz (1986) especially stresses in her study of Ifaluk emotions, the way in which emotion talk may provide us with 'things that matter rather than things that simply make sense' (p.5) and goes on to state that, '..if emotion is used to talk about what is culturally defined and experienced as 'intensely meaningful', then the problem becomes one of translating between two cultural views and enactments of that which is real and good and proper' (p.8). Again Lutz emphasizes the pragmatic, creative nature of such moralizing discourse. She asserts that emotion talk itself creates reality by negotiating and attributing value-laden meaning to certain aspects of social reality.

The approach to emotional discourse outlined above proves to be helpful in understanding the ways in which the Tsimane express their ideas about anger. I also choose to remain within a social, discursive domain in my dealings with emotion. Whilst not believing I had or have access to what it means to feel angry for a Tsimane individual, I was exposed to constant daily talk about social relations and movements, most often articulated through an idiom of anger.

The authors forementioned posit that internal states are 'the motions of the social world writ small' (Rosaldo 1980:53). Such an approach is a necessary and interesting one, seen in reaction to previous psychobiological biases in emotion studies. I find it difficult however, to take the leap from Tsimane interpretations of their world and their consistent valorizing of elements of it, to claim an understanding of self and feeling. I will discuss how Tsimane concerns with anger are elaborated in a discourse whereby emotions are elicited in a way to express ideas to explain and valorize social life. Furthermore, they organize and give impulse to social relations. Tsimane anger talk I argue, presents their ideas of what 'orders' and gives life to social being and provides an understanding of the nature of social experience.
In recognizing anger as a necessary energy, we are presented with ambivalence in Tsimane morality. Rosaldo (1980) similarly describes an Ilongot ambivalence in presenting their ideas on anger. The energy of anger - *liget* - is for the Ilongot, vital for social life but highly dangerous if not adequately mastered. 'Born of insult, disappointment, envy and irritation, *liget* is the source of motions in the heart that may, unfocused and unsatisfied, produce no more than wild violence, social chaos, personal confusion and an ultimate passivity and loss of will. But a lack of such motion means a lack of will and purpose - and has much the same result. 'Without *liget* to move our hearts', Ilongots have told me, 'there would be no human life' ' (p. 47).

The Tsimanes were never explicit about the necessary presence of anger. It is understood however, that movement is enjoyed, desired and necessary for the achievement of appropriate, nurturant social states and for acquiring knowledge. Observations and understandings of anger, are cathartic in their role in giving meaning and impulse to movement decisions. It is not perhaps too far fetched therefore, to recognize anger as a necessary facet of human and non-human sociality. Described throughout the thesis are different but necessary forms of sociality. I stress an essence of instability of these forms, and look at the transformations between them, by concentrating upon an understanding of movement in particular. It is often anger which textures the explanations of these transformations, and which provides the very impulse that initiates them.

What is essential both for the Ilongot and the Tsimane are the acquired capabilities necessary to master the forces of anger and other facets of sociality. In chapter two I expanded upon the idea of acquiring knowledge and capabilities through movement. I concentrated on the importance of knowing how to *sóbaqui* (visit, travel) and of how to socialize appropriately. Moving oneself and receiving the visits and thus knowledge of others, are crucial to obtaining a minute knowledge of the world and how to act within it.

An essential element of socializing knowledge is knowing how to negotiate and avoid provoking the anger of others. Below I will develop upon ways in which the anger of others is perceived, gauged and talked about. Chapter six and eight explore aspects of human provocations of anger as men and women venture into non-human realms. A principal idea which expresses the notion of provocation, is that of intrusion or impingement upon the domains of others. Loud, indiscrete, angry talk and presence is deemed to be particularly intrusive and provocative. Socializing knowledge incorporates knowing how to best avoid the intrusions of others, and of how not to encroach upon others oneself. This involves a careful and subtle mastering of how to carry oneself in the presence of others. By this I mean that the shades or nuances of voice, posture and physical presence in general, are meticulously considered. To socialize safely and successfully, each individual must learn
how to appropriately behave in the presence of others. The essence of appropriate socializing rests upon a taste for soft discretion.

Whilst anger was the emotion most often evoked to describe undesirable forms of sociality, timidity or embarrassment -tsicadye' - is also an unfortunate state experienced and manifest by all Tsimanes. Younger individuals who have not yet learnt to shed their embarrassment in the presence of others, suffer in particular. Examples will be provided below to illustrate how situations of both tsicadye' and fâcoijdye' (anger) render generative, comfortable sociality impossible. Young boys and girls are often chided for their extreme embarrassment in the presence of others. Their parents complain that in many situations, feelings and manifestations of tsicadye' are both unnecessary and an impediment to free flowing intimacy preferred in ideal, 'close' situations.

It is also relevant to note however that in some instances, timid, embarrassed kinds of behaviour may be perceived of as safer and preferred. In visiting situations lacking the fluid nature of interaction enjoyed between familiar kin, the removed, stifled presence of someone suffering from tsicadye' is less threatening. Individuals are only chided for their timidity and embarrassment in situations which should, or could be safely intimate. In familiar circumstances, the retention of communication is remarked upon as impeding of fluid, intimate sociality. In those which are less familiar, such restricted presence suggests a certain reserve and control entirely expected or desirable as a way of interacting with others. It becomes clear again, that ways of being for the Tsimanes depend on an appropriateness of mood, atmosphere and kinds of social relationships. They are not given states but ones which are carefully chosen as an individual weighs up the nature of a situation and the people present. The ability to choose and act appropriately depends upon the socializing knowledge and capabilities of each person. Older men in particular, often boast of their learnt abilities to shed tsicadye' and to socialize freely when appropriate. What should be emphasized here is that a central facet of social knowledge for the Tsimanes is a concern with emotion; anger and embarrassment in particular.

We return then to the issue introduced at the beginning of this chapter and that which permeates the thesis. The social state for the Tsimanes embodies a continuum extending from least to most desired styles of living and ways of being. In order to cultivate preferred and safer states of being, a wide array of lesser desired conditions must be negotiated and avoided. I suggested above that such conditions are most often described as expressions of anger and embarrassment.

I rarely witnessed extreme displays of anger. What may however be perceived as angry and threatening behaviour by the Tsimanes, is suggested by subtle changes in tone of voice and
eyes posture. The gradual crescendo of a voice or ‘ugly utterances’ - a’chis peyacdye’ signify a presence of potential or brewing anger. The way in which an individual (either as visitor or even resident) may approach a house, indicates much about mood, atmosphere and the attributed safety or danger of a given situation. Often strident, direct approach to houses is avoided, and a gradual, almost sidling advance preferred. Modesto Saravia, living at Yucumo with his wife and parents-in-law, displayed particular caution whenever he arrived back at the house. I was rarely aware of his arrival, and only later would notice him quietly crouching by the fire or beside the house.

Eye contact is also carefully chosen or avoided depending upon the people interacting. Those who frequent each others’ houses and enjoy close, familiar relationships, engage in direct eye contact and fluid conversation. Where they sit or stand is not of particular import. However when a rare visitor approaches a house, communication may be painfully reserved. I even noted a slight stooping posture of the visitor, accompanied with a downward or sidelong gaze. Direct eye contact was rare on such occasions. But then, such circumstances are usually avoided. I noticed this especially when I had to visit a number of houses, accompanied by a Tsimane, to carry out extensive census and genealogical surveys. The Tsimane knew all the people we were visiting, but perhaps would not have usually ventured so freely towards their houses. He always waited for me to first approach and he then quietly appeared behind me. He preferred to let me speak and would occasionally talk quietly, hardly raising his eyes to meet those of our hosts.

Preferred body posture, voice level, and speed of approach, all suggest human presence in its least impinging form. The quiet discretion present in such ways of being, suggests an absence of anger or threatening presence. As such, it is safer, desired and conducive of appropriate, generative social living.

* * *

Much of daily talk about the quality of certain social situations, meanders between observations of displays of anger and commentaries upon the importance of soft speech and discretion. Those who know how to be and to visit appropriately are not only safe but also desirable and sought after company. Daily talk of this nature constitutes, and is woven around ideas of taste. Commentary about inappropriate and preferred human presence and life style is thus highly evaluative of the social condition. In a presentation of ideas of value and morality, ultimate distaste is expressed over what are perceived to be displays or signs of anger.

It is important to emphasize the poignancy of a discourse on taste in the context of Tsimane
anger talk. Anger, loud and ugly words - a'chis peyacdye - are not only uncomfortable and distasteful, but highly dangerous. For within the expression of anger lie the active seeds of sorcery - farajtacsi. Those who know how to get angry also know how to sorcerize and kill. Such danger however lies in the expression of anger and not in talking about the anger of others.

All social beings, human and non-human, Tsimane or non-Tsimane, kin or non-kin are capable of expressing anger. It is perhaps the capability of expressing anger and thereby creating danger for others, that most encapsulates the idea of preferably distant otherness. Notions of otherness are not evoked as an explicit divide drawn between 'us' and 'them', but are described as notions of least desired states in relation to preferred states of being. The principal way described and practised by the Tsimanes for avoiding the anger of 'others' is by moving away from it. The daily transitions from undesirable facets of social living towards those which are preferred and more generative, are described and explained as occurring as a result of expressions of anger. The main point here to reiterate is that Tsimanes often explain their movements in terms of anger avoidance.

Most interestingly, I only witnessed actual manifestations of Tsimane anger on two occasions (see below). I did, however, often witness the 'anger' of Napo or national Bolivians directed towards Tsimanes. Similarly, the perceived effects of angered guardian spirits upon the Tsimanes were often manifest (see chapter eight). What was more important and central to my analysis therefore, was not anger as something felt or expressed overtly by Tsimane individuals. Instead I look at the way in which anger was evoked as an explanation for certain social phenomena, and for the reason behind decisions to move away from some people and situations and towards others.

* 

About half way through my stay with the Tsimanes, I was asked to guide two students through the forest to a Tsimane settlement, where they planned to live for a week to carry out some preliminary research. They proved to be markedly different in their approach to the Tsimanes, and Tsimane comments about their differences clearly revealed certain ideas about the right and proper way to conduct oneself and be in the world. They nicknamed the two students mouse - chosho', and elephant - elefante, according both to their physical appearances and to their respective quiet and boisterous ways of carrying themselves and relating to their hosts.

The mouse was very shy and wary of asserting himself, asking the Tsimanes too many questions, and quietly observed the proceedings of the following days. The elephant on the
other hand, spoke very loudly, demanded many things of his hosts including physical work and instant 'creation myths' to be spoken into a large, intrusive microphone. Finally, he would rapidly approach and enter any Tsimane house we encountered, and would immediately sit where he pleased without being entreated to. During the week, the Tsimanes were equally polite to both of their guests but they provided me with a constant commentary of their observations of the two. Their remarks were highly evaluative and revealing of Tsimane ideas of preferred and abhorred social states suggested above.

The general consensus drawn, was that although the mouse did not fully participate and spoke very little, he had a head which would be quick to learn. Or as the Tsimanes put it, his head was not hard - jam yäcá' jo'no', and thus Tsimane words and thoughts or ways of being - dyijyedye' would enter easily and remain. This can be understood as a complimentary summing up of the mouse. He essentially could be like a Tsimane in that his presence was non-intrusive, he spoke little and when he spoke, he did so softly. He preferred to await the approach of curious Tsimanes rather than venturing forward to visit unknown households. In short, his behaviour was understood within the framework of tsícadye' (timidity/embarrassment) of Tsimanes, especially the young, who have not yet mastered their socializing skills or who do not feel comfortable in a given situation. The elephant in contrast, spoke very loudly, sang and clapped constantly and ordered people around. He asked them to bring water, cook him food and to tell him details of their 'culture', as he put it. The elephant's way of being was not foreign to his hosts and they likened it to behaviour of the itinerant Bolivian river tradesmen who frequented their settlement. The elephant was never said to have actually displayed anger, but his loud, intrusive way of being was understood to reveal a latent, underlying tendency for anger.

River tradesmen perhaps represent the epitome of the least desired form of non-Tsimane otherness. Tsimanes afflicted with their visits witness what they perceive to be consistent manifestations of angry potency. Many tales are circulated of present and past atrocities committed by river traders, including several cases of rape and murder. Even when the tradesmen do not assert such extreme violence, their very presence is perceived of as violent and angry by their Tsimane hosts. A river trader will invariably strut into a Tsimane household, with abrupt, ostentatious body movements, and most probably shouting. He or she will sit down immediately and often grab a plantain or any other food within reach, and

---

2The verb 'to think' in Tsimane is dyijyi. Dyijyedye' is also used to mean 'custom'.
3River tradesmen are often the only national Bolivians encountered by many Tsimanes. They travel to the most isolated of Tsimane settlements and so even the Tsimanes who do not travel to town, witness representations of Napo' - national Bolivian culture.
4The vigilating presence of the New Tribes Missionaries has restricted such severe manifestations of 'anger'.
eat it in front of his/her nervous onlookers. The implications of these eating habits will be revealed later on in the thesis, where I describe the somewhat extreme restrictions affecting relationships of consumption.

When a Tsimane family or individual is behind with debt payments, the trader may begin to threaten them, referring directly to a likely fate to befall those who do not pay up quickly (often sorcery attack - see below). Often knowingly guilty individuals escape into the forest before the arrival of the trader\(^5\). When they fail to do so, the interaction between the trader and the accused I found to be pitiful. The chided, threatened Tsimanes I observed, shuffled their feet, bowed their heads, stooped their shoulders and barely uttered a word in the face of such angry presence. Direct confrontation would be unthinkable and the Tsimanes simply await the traders' departure as a solution to a situation of extreme discomfort.

The way of river traders and their displays of anger in particular, are often attributed by the Tsimanes to a 'lack of thoughts' - itši dyijyedye'. On one occasion whilst walking through the forest with a Tsimane family, we heard some frenetic movements and loud, excited voices resonating from behind the next bend. Two river tradesmen were shouting and laughing as they teased and wrestled with a poisonous snake. The Tsimanes were highly disapproving of their behaviour, telling me that it was dangerous, stupid, and revealed yet again the way in which Napo\(^1\) invariably 'lack thoughts', and thereby do not know how to act properly and non-dangerously in the world.

The examples provided above, concerning the mouse, the elephant and the river traders, reveal certain Tsimane ideas about preferred and abhorred behaviour and social presence. Loud, ostentatious speech, confrontational, direct body posture and eye contact, and a general lack of quiet consideration of the preferences and desires of others, are all ways of being which indicate an underlying potential for anger. Furthermore, they may be perceived as direct displays of anger which are understood to imply sorcery.

A non-angry person is one whose body movements are gentle and fluid, whose speech is quiet and only raised in appropriate, intimate situations. He or she who knows how to act 'with thoughts' and without anger, indicates a mastering of socializing capabilities. He or she knows how to socialize with an air of soft discretion and as such, his or her company is pleasurable and safe. Furthermore, mastered socializing capabilities are a sign both of acquired knowledge and experience, and of the likelihood of future knowledge acquisition (indicated by a lack of 'hard headedness'). In contrast, people who do not know how to

\(^5\)Information about the whereabouts of river traders usually travels fast. With the more recent use of outboard motors instead of poles, arrival time is often misconstrued.
control angry potential are described as 'hard headed'. Their open displays of anger make them unattractive and ultimately dangerous company.

Attributes of anger need not only be expected from non-Tsimane others, but are often associated with both distant and closely known Tsimanes. For instance, Boca de Yucumo and Yucumo Campamento are two settlements lying about an eight hour walk apart. Kinship and affinal links are shared between the two settlements, and visiting and periods of co-residence occur between them frequently. Lorencia used to live at the Campamento, but now lives at the Boca. Three of her sons married women from the Campamento and live for periods in both locations. Every time Lorencia visited the Campamento during my stay, she would return laden with criticism and disdain for her Campamento kin. She had close links with these kin and had lived with them for previous periods in her life. Yet she complained of their a'chis ñeyacyde - ugly words and angry ways of being. Her brother and sister-in-law frequently rose their voices she said, and shouted angrily. Whenever kin met to drink and talk together, they drank excessively and spoke in anger, of bad, negative situations and people. Never again she said, would she live in the Campamento. Such anger she expressed, is itself violent and dangerous, and implies further inflated danger in the form of sorcery. Lorencia's comments are but one example of the ways in which I heard many individuals speak of their own, close kin. Whenever situations of discomfort or discord arose in situations of co-residence and visiting, they would be described in terms of an unwelcome presence of anger, a presence which is best avoided.

In situations of co-residence, tensions underlying both kin and affinal relationships are muffled and an air of intimacy and sharing upheld. Nevertheless, tensions of potential discord do exist and are recognized by Tsimane co-residents. They are never directly confronted, but are instead avoided and cleared by a move away, and change of residence of one or other party. I often came across resident daughters-in-law and sons-in-law uncomfortable and unhappy with their domestic circumstances. They expressed their desires to return to live with their own parents and/or siblings. Complaints about co-residents are usually couched in descriptions of their angry behaviour. For instance, Serafin's son Trinidad and his wife Salomé live for part of the year in a house neighbouring Serafin's, and cultivate gardens close by. Salomé, whilst I was living with them, was not happy living with her parents-in-law and complained that Serafin, her father-in-law 'knew how to get angry' - chij fâcoij. He was always irritable and therefore unpleasant to live with. She would often sit alone in her house and decline invitations to eat and drink with her parents-in-law. Serafin also complained about Salomé, stressing that she was sullen, anti-social and boring. Again, he summed up her attitudes and behaviour as being essentially imbued with anger. As I have previously remarked, I noted Salomé's countenance and manner to significantly change when she and her husband moved to live with her mother and sister.
I have described elements of what are perceived by the Tsimanes to be angry presence and behaviour. These are displayed in their most extreme form by non-Tsimanes who 'lack thoughts' necessary to master social capabilities. The presence and avoidance of anger are also constantly noted and considered in situations of close co-residence and visiting. Whilst recognizing the inevitability of underlying angry potential, Tsimanes rarely allow it to rise to the surface and explode in manifestations characteristic of uncontrolled non-Tsimanes. Instead, they negotiate it by avoidance. The invariable equation of angry behaviour and sorcery is also frequently drawn, sometimes adding an association of anger with a knowledge of poisoning skills -ñutsyi. If ever I was to travel to a distant and/or unknown settlement for example, I would be warned repeatedly that the members of the settlement were dangerous. They 'knew how to get angry, knew how to sorcerize and knew how to poison and kill' -chiMJ fácoij, chiJ farajtacsi, chiJ ñutsyyi, chiJ ijacsi muntyi' in.

It is usually, if not always, 'angry others' who are believed to possess the ability and intention to sorcerize. Although some Tsimanes are recognized for their sorcerizing capacities, it is non-Tsimanes who are considered as arch sorcerers. The way in which angry river traders coerce Tsimanes into debt-peonage, exploitative relationships, creates an image of the traders as fearful, master sorcerers. Many child deaths are attributed to the anger and sorcery of river traders, and many traders use their understanding of a Tsimane fear of sorcery as a further means of coercion. They have come to realize the added power of their anger and are able to command Tsimanes to do things in a way entirely unacceptable within a Tsimane notion of appropriate and safe behaviour. Traders realize that socializing and doing business with Tsimanes in a more subtle, Tsimane-like fashion proves unproductive in Napo' terms. Tsimane successful relationships of production are predicated on a shared intimacy and trust within which no individual may coerce another. River traders are only able to command the work of Tsimanes through direct coercion and the use of terror tactics. All too often, Tsimane workers shirk responsibilities by simply packing a bag and leaving. It is clear that a higher value is placed by the Tsimanes, upon their ability to move away independently and freely, than upon any material gain they may acquire.

Successful production for the Tsimanes is not only work towards material gain, but creates desirable forms of sociality (see chapter seven). Furthermore, it is only rendered possible in generative, harmonious social situations (see Overing 1989, Goldman 1963). By playing with Tsimane fears of anger and sorcery, river traders tap one of the most potent, energizing paranoias possible. Only by demonstrating their anger as sorcerizing potential, are they able to enter into any kind of productive relationship with Tsimane peons.

I have presented here a wholly negative view of Tsimane relationships with Napo' river traders. It is a view based on the most accessible, obvious appearance of exploitation, and
one which has caused a number of non-governmental projects to fail with the Tsimanes (see Rioja 1990). Hugh-Jones (1992) has rightly pointed out that indigenous peoples such as the Barasana and the Tsimane actually possess a certain level of control and intention within what appear to be wholly exploitative systems. The Barasana do not only enter barter relationships with traders as a result of external pressure. They are active participants in the relationship, asserting their desires and demands for certain goods. The Barasana, explains Hugh-Jones, further add different meaning and significance to the goods purchased. This added value lies beyond that expected or shared by the trader.

In a similar way, many Tsimanes want to enter into barter relationships with Bolivian traders. They feel that without these relationships, they would have no access to products such as antibiotics, batteries, ammunition, cloth, and numerous other goods. The creative adaptations made to the goods, and the use to which some are put, add, as Hugh-Jones suggests, a significance and value to the purchase wholly unconsidered by the trader. Furthermore, Tsimanes are able, by means of their frustrating disappearing and moving acts, to assert some control over their interactions with traders. Nevertheless, in the context of an understanding and use of anger, the description I provide of angry river traders is pertinent and represents a Tsimane view of one aspect of their relationships with Napo'.

Articulated through the concept of fącoijdye' - anger, is an onerous, wrathful way of being, recognized as being an inevitable trait of human and non-human sociality. Although Tsimanes, either close or distant, embody angry potential, it is non-Tsimane Napo' and non-humans who know best how to get angry, and are thus perceived as the most adept sorcerers.

*  

Ideas about the contrast of preferable and disliked ways of being apply also to oneself and to an understanding of one's position in the social world. A part of knowing how to socialize well and appropriately, does not only concern recognizing and subsequently negotiating the anger of others, but involves a carefully studied self awareness. An ability to socialize well and appropriately rests upon achieving a delicate balance between fluid and non-intrusive behaviour and presence. Fluid and intimate sociality is only possible when devoid of tsćadye' - timidity or embarrassment which is associated especially with those of less socializing experience. Generative, safe sociality is only possible in an absence of threatening, intrusive presence. Both impinging presence and embarrassment cause a virtual total breakdown in communication. In such conditions, bodies become awkward and ill at ease, touching and eye contact probably impossible. Bautimo, Pascual, Carmen and Riboria are all older individuals who were keen to emphasize to me their loss of tsćadye'. They
were proud of the fact that they could talk freely and confidently with me, with Napo' and with other Tsimanes without suffering the uncontrollable sense of fear and embarrassment so evident in tsicadye' laden situations. They stressed how it is both uncomfortable to find oneself suffering from tsicadye' and to be in the presence of people in this state.

Many people described the difficulties they experienced preparing food or eating in situations imbued with tsicadye' and/or anger. Trinidad and Simón Tayo, two brothers living at Pachene, provided me with a good example of how anger and tsicadye' may restrict eating and socializing in general. The two brothers had just returned from visiting their brother Crisanto. Usually on such visits, (in this case frequent because the brothers lived within a day's travel from each other), food and drink would be shared and consumed in a relaxed fashion. On this particular occasion, some distant kinspeople had arrived from Cuchisama (a nearby tributary to the main backbone of the Tsimane river system), and according to Trinidad, an extremely uncomfortable situation transpired resulting from the anger and aggressive talk of the visitors.

The two brothers had travelled the best part of the day down river with twenty three balsa trees they owed to a river trader and were hungry and tired. When I asked why, given they were at their brother's house, they could not bake their fish (caught along the way) and ask for some bananas, they replied that it would have been quite impossible given the discomfort and potential danger of the situation. They felt intensely tsicaij -timid and embarrassed they explained. They felt so uncomfortable and threatened by the atmosphere in their brother's house that not only did they feel they could not prepare their food but they quickly left on the up river trip and slept on a beach rather than in the sometimes known comfort of their brother's house.

Travelling and visiting kin can similarly be limited by embarrassment and timidity. When I first arrived at Yucumo, I was genuinely shy and preferred not to visit many households, instead staying and helping in the house of my hosts. As in the case of the mouse described above, this shy behaviour was easily understood by the Tsimanes as tsicadye' and I suspect they were quite relieved that they were not to be inflicted with uncomfortable and unwelcome visits. After a couple of months of acclimatising myself, I decided to carry out some more intensive census and genealogical work in Yucumo which took me to all the households, often for prolonged visits. After several days of this, Modesto, the son-in-law of my host remarked upon the extraordinary change in my behaviour and that he admired my new courageous self. He spoke of my new visiting ability as an acquired knowledge, associated with a loss of tsicadye'. Aty chi' sóbaqui mi, aty jam tsicai' mi, jam noi'yi mi - 'now you know how to visit, you are not longer shy and embarrassed, you are no longer afraid'. He felt quite frustrated by his own tsicadye' and at the way in which it
limited his own social, visiting behaviour. He said he was looking forward to the day that he
too would lose some of his tsicadye' and so enjoy more free flowing social relationships
with his kin.

Situations free of anger and tsicadye' allow for a certain enjoyed intimacy and lack of
inhibition amongst those present. It is probably clear from the above descriptions of ways in
which anger and a fear of anger impede free flowing intimacy between kin, that such
desirable situations are only momentarily and occasionally carved out of an array of possible
social relationships and moods of those present. When they do result however, they are
clearly enjoyed by all present and on such occasions, men and women were keen to indicate
to me what was preferred and enjoyable in situations of comfort and appropriate socializing.
One of the qualities expected to arise in such contexts is an ability to joke - shejvini. People's
capacity to banter, tease and joke is recognized and admired and those who 'don't
know how to joke' - jam chij shejvini, are boring. Serafin at Pachene for example, would
often complain of a lack of a good, social life and of fun, joking relationships. Whenever he
partook in a social situation, he came to life and rigorously joked and played with his visitors
or hosts. Serafin often expressed particular frustration with his wife's company as she did
not know how to joke and was thus boring and no fun6.

On a similar note, Modesto, whilst commenting upon my acquired capabilities to socialize
widely, also remarked upon my capacity to joke. The more I began to be able to play with
words and use metaphors in a very basic sense, the more excited Modesto became at my
ability to use language to shejvini - to joke and play. He explained that I was gradually
learning to be able to do this as I improved my linguistic skills and more importantly, as I
learnt how to act correctly in Tsimane company.

What I hope to have elucidated from the above examples is that enjoyed, intimate
relationships amongst the Tsimanes are only rendered possible in situations devoid of
threatening presence, which is invariably described in terms of anger. I have discussed a
Tsimane valorizing discourse on what constitutes anger, angry people and angry behaviour,
and why it is best circumvented. The examples have not described Tsimane displays of anger
but have explored ways in which Tsimanes perceive and moralize about anger inherent in
themselves and others, and by so doing, give meaning to their social worlds. I will now
consider this emotion talk less in terms of its capacity as a valorizing comment upon the way

6I have already stressed a concern both of the Tsimanes and revealed in a number of
Amazonian ethnographies, with maintaining a high morale in social situations. Some
ethnographers discuss the role of the 'joking clown' or buffoon figure in creating and
maintaining appropriate affectivity and in deflating moods of potential threat and danger (see
of things, but in terms of its pragmatic, creative force.

*  

Throughout the previous section I have suggested a Tsimane avoidance of anger imbued situations and people. Rarely, if ever, is conflict or an expression of anger negotiated by means of confrontation, but instead by a rapid move away from these. I and some Tsimanes noted that when a particular relationship becomes strained, or an uncomfortable situation ensues, neither party attempts to reach a compromise or to discuss the issue at hand. Instead, a move away and a temporary separation of those at odds usually heals the rift and underlying danger 7.

I have described Tsimane sociality as a series of conflicting and complementary states which are recognized as both conducive of, and threatening to safe, generative social living. All states of this 'repertoire of states of being' are understood to be inevitable constituents of the nature of social existence. I understand movements away from wrathful energy as part of the careful negotiations undertaken by each individual between the nurturant and dangerous qualities of social living. A course is ideally navigated in a way to appropriate that which is life providing and generative by escaping from that which is dangerous and threatening. When I would attempt to understand why certain people had moved from one location to another, the explanation I would most often receive would revolve around descriptions of angry kin who were better retreated from. Such movements are most often temporary and people may often return after a very short stay away with other kin or after a long fishing or hunting trip. Sometimes however, they are for longer and may even extend to a period of several years.

I argue therefore that anger talk and thus the potential of anger itself present themselves as a necessary catalyst or motivating force behind peripatetic movement. Apart from the fact that such forms of movement most efficiently enable the temporary formation of a correct social climate, they are intrinsically desirable and as I have already argued, illustrate an assertion of will and control over social living. Individuals and families take independent decisions to move when they feel it necessary or appropriate, or simply when they please. Decisions which influence the make-up of Tsimane social life are taken in an autonomous fashion. As such, it is again clear that each individual is personally responsible for creating preferred and

---

7 Both Goldman (1963) and Thomas (1982) speak of similar moves away from discomfort and conflict amongst the Cubeo and Pemon respectively. Both of these peoples are described as avoiding situations non-conducive of congeniality by moving to live away from them. Thomas goes to the extent of suggesting that Pemon dispersed kindred groups provide a perfect 'out' (p.84) and means of avoiding conflict.
desired forms of social living. He or she does this by carefully mastering his or her own social presence in the world, and by carefully gauging that of others.

*  

Movements are spoken of in a number of ways. Those away from unwelcome intruders such as threatening river tradesmen or Napo' are talked of in terms of 'escape' - ca'joij. The approach of a Napo' is most often forewarned by the sound of the motor coming up or down river or by small children who quickly run to tell their families of their arrival. Most often several members of the household, usually women and adolescent girls run into the forest - ca'joj däràcan, and wait there until they hear of the exit of the undesirable visitor. Anyone who is severely in debt to a river tradesman will usually try to escape and hide rather than confront the anger and danger of the Napo'. Such short-lived forms of escape are often discussed by river traders with much exasperation. They are unable to assert the power of their anger in threatening confrontation if the person is absent.

Another form of escape relates to ideas about correct marriage. When young couples wish to be together but do not fall into the correct marriageable category, their elope 'into the forest' or to a settlement away from that of either of their parents, is described in terms of escape. The concern, spoken of as anger of the parents, is avoided by this temporary move away. As Fermiliano told me (see chapter three), the separation usually renders the incorrectness of the union tolerable, as the anger of parents and kin is softened. The young couple, by moving away in an avoidance of anger, is thus asserting its autonomy and fulfilling the couple's desire to be together. At the same time, their removed presence means that potential danger of anger and 'ugly words' is circumvented, and eventually a tolerable, safe social situation is restored.

Most often however, moves away of individuals and families were described in terms of simply 'leaving' - joban', rather than of escape. The distress expressed by Salomé for example, at the anger and irritability of her father-in-law Serafin, led to her convincing her husband to move to live with her mother and sister for a period of time. The second time I arrived at Serafin's house, Salomé and her husband Trinidad were no longer living next to him and had 'left' - joban' down river. Upon the following visit however, they had returned to Serafin's clustered settlement and the anger had been apparently been dissipated by the temporary separation.

Underlying relationships of affinity is a potential for discomfort and even anger. When such tensions gradually rise to the surface, one party moves away to live with another group of kin and affines for a period of time. As I continue to stress, actual confrontation between
affines is highly unlikely to occur. Instead tensions are dispersed and a certain harmony reinstated by the mechanisms of absence and future reconciliation. I have provided several examples of such affinal juggling in previous chapters. The issue to reiterate here is that they again may be understood as a careful negotiating between relations of nurturance and danger inherent in social living. Angry people and atmospheres have to be navigated by a withdrawal of those who wish to move away, and a subsequent search and salvaging of a more apt, nurturing and comfortable sociality.

The way in which anger talk expresses the reason behind such moves, illustrates again the way in which anger is perceived as restricting fluid, comfortable forms of being and socializing. Furthermore it is envisaged as dangerous in its potential to kindle the flame of sorcery. Simultaneously however, a perception of the presence of anger and the subsequent analysis which ensues, allows for a dynamism required to initiate movement. To reiterate, movement to and from different groups of people and places is not only to be understood in terms of avoidance strategies (see Thomas 1982), but is a process which is both desirable and necessary for the acquisition of the very knowledge and experience necessary to live well and appropriately.

As I said earlier in the chapter, I only encountered actual manifestations of anger on two occasions amongst the Tsimanes. Both incidents were shocking to myself and to the Tsimanes, and were again met by a rapid withdrawal and move away of one of the parties concerned. Boca de Yucumo is a Tsimane settlement which the New Tribes Missionaries describe as being the most politically organized and efficient in its dealings with national Bolivian society. It possesses three bilingual Tsimane teachers and an organized hierarchy of political representatives absent in the other settlements in which I worked. One Sunday, most members of the settlement had gathered in the school/church communal building for a service and meeting. Towards the end of the meeting, the three teachers called forward Wigberto, a man they considered to be behaving incorrectly because of his involvement with a particular river trader. They explained to the group present, that it was their responsibility to punish Wigberto for his actions. I have suggested throughout the thesis that coercive behaviour and such political forms of hierarchy are normally absent in Tsimane society. On this occasion, the teachers explained their behaviour and justified it by comparing it to the punitive action of policemen observed by everyone in the nearby town of San Borja. They felt they had both a right and a responsibility to show Wigberto and all those present what lay within the bounds of acceptable behaviour. To accommodate river tradesmen and even

---

8 Interestingly, the teachers used the word *castigar* which means 'to punish' in Spanish. It would seem that the Tsimane language possesses no equivalent to aptly express the concept of punishment.
allow his daughters to sleep with them, was they said, entirely unacceptable. The teachers then proceeded to tie Wigberto upside down by his feet to the rafters of the school building and then beat him in front of the congregation. Everyone, including Wigberto tittered nervously, apparently alienated and confused by such a strange occurrence. The next day Wigberto and his family packed up their belongings and left on a trip up river to find a new place to live away from the wrath they had experienced at Boca de Yucumo. Those remaining at Boca de Yucumo explained to me that the family would most probably return to live with kin living near Yucumo after a period living up river.

The response to the punitive and violent action of the teachers by most of the people of Yucumo was ambivalent and difficult to gauge. I expected a total condemnation of the action and attitude of the teachers who had openly expressed their fury and even allowed it to amount to a physical attack upon Wigberto. Instead however, many people parrotted the preliminary justifications of the teachers, reiterating that Wigberto had been wrong in his involvements with the Napo and therefore deserved castigo -punishment. The only way I am able at present to interpret this unlikely reaction (as I did several reactions in Yucumo), is as being a result of heavy missionary influence. I never encountered such an endorsement of angry manifestation whilst amongst the Tsimanes, but then again I never met bilingual teachers who were so focused in their efforts to become assimilated into Bolivian national society.

The following incident also illustrates an outbreak of anger and a move away from it at Yucumo Campamento, a settlement near to Boca de Yucumo. A large drinking party had been organized to celebrate the birthday of a young boy, and a group of kin from Boca de Yucumo were also present after their return from a hunting trip in the hills behind. Everyone present drank heavily and soon a fight broke out between one man from the Boca and one who lived closeby to the Campamento. The young man from the Campamento actually attacked the man from the Boca with a metal flute and badly wounded his face. Upon such a dangerous and uncommon outbreak, all the visitors from the Boca picked up their bags and fled back to their settlement which is an eight hour walk through the forest. I did not feel like walking through the forest drunk in the middle of the night and tried to persuade the people with whom I was living to leave in the morning. They explained however that it would have been far too dangerous for them to stay near to the Campamento kin a moment longer. Campamento kin, they said (as had Lorencia before them), tended to be angry, spoke 'ugly words', and were best avoided when possible. The Campamento kin, whilst analyzing the

---

9Whether or not Wigberto did this is of course debatable. According to him, he avoided river tradesmen as much as everyone else did.
occurrence the following day, also accused the Boca kin of being angry and dangerous people.

I was somewhat surprised a few months later to see the two men who had fought, and their respective kin drinking together in a bar in San Borja during the San Borja festival in October. I noted quite a different form of socializing between Tsimanes whilst in Napo' territory. Families who would probably avoid prolonged interaction with each other upon meeting in the forest or along the river, suddenly drink, eat, sleep and talk together on the pavements and in the bars of San Borja. Someone explained to me that here in town 'we are all kin' and a sense of solidarity in identity was drawn upon in a way I seldom if ever encountered when in a more Tsimane domain. San Borja it seems, offers a realm of neutrality, a zone where the dangers forementioned are no longer at play. It is only upon return to the canoes and forest paths, that negotiations and avoidances of people and places, and of the moods there within, are reinstated.

Having drawn this somewhat simplistic distinction between forest and urban space, I should add that I was particularly interested when travelling with the Tsimanes, to note the way in which Tsimanes 'on the move' interacted and communicated with each other. Again I sensed a certain neutrality in certain environments and in ways of being in these places. I noted how avoidance of people in their homes and gardens was highly operative in determining routes taken through the forest, and decisions to visit certain kin. These same individuals, however, when they met in the forest, on the river or along the beaches, were happy to stop, greet each other and talk for a short period of time. To actually stop on one's way at the home of an unknown Tsimane, I was told, is almost impossible, even in cases of extreme hunger and exhaustion. Most Tsimanes, to varying degrees, possess an intimate knowledge of the details of the whereabouts of known and unknown kin, and thus of whom to safely approach and whom to avoid. To freely interact in spheres of neutrality, and most importantly, whilst moving, is not threatening however. Neutral spaces are devoid of anger. Both parties know they are to quickly move on and that lengthy interaction and a sharing of space and intimacy is unlikely. This apparent lack of fear and seeming openness expressed between travelling Tsimanes would dramatically change if a traveller were to invite himself into an unknown household. This is of course something, he or she would be loathe to do, as it would jeopardise his or her own safety and well-being.

It can be suggested however, that such an apparently safe neutrality is non-productive in that neither potencies of nurturance and intimacy, nor of danger, play a part in such interactions. Such fleeting interactions do not transform themselves to those of commensality. These people are safely able to exchange greetings and conversation precisely because the likelihood of them prolonging their meeting and thus of eating and drinking together is more
than slim\textsuperscript{10}. Similarly, provocations of dangerous anger and sorcery are also unlikely. Neutral situations as such, do not represent the crucial navigations between ambivalent potencies described in differing contexts throughout the thesis. They neither create desirable and nurturant forms of sociality, nor do they provoke their fatal counterpart of anger and sorcery.

* 

The subtleties of presence and ways of being of individuals and forest beings imbue places with mood and atmosphere. Social atmospheres are valorized, and movements between them explained and understood through anger talk. I have shown that a Tsimane verbal concern with anger presents both a way of explaining the social world and of attributing meaning to it. At the same time, 'emotion talk' provides a motivating force for the very creation of varying forms of sociality.

\textsuperscript{10}The implications of what is involved in eating and drinking together are elaborated upon in chapter seven.
CHAPTER SIX: A MERGING OF HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN DOMAINS

Humans and non-humans are seen by the Tsimanes to co-habit an essentially social universe and are both subject to ambivalent forces inherent in the social state. I now turn to the domains of the rivers and forest within which dwell a multiplicity of non-human beings. These realms are not to be understood as lying beyond human sociality, but instead share aspects of it with their human co-residents.

Hunting and fishing\(^1\) plunge humans deeply and intimately into contact with their forest and river environment and perhaps most clearly expose human vulnerability to the life generating and life denying potencies which inhabit it. Most cases of illness and death amongst the Tsimanes are attributed to the anger and sorcery of animal and fish guardians rather than to human sorcery. Despite such danger, a vital element of desired, correct living is to eat real food, an important portion being meat and fish which are provided by respective guardians of fish and game. From the human point of view, guardian beings are essentially ambivalent and encapsulate forces which both provide and deny vitality to social life.

Hunting and the successful production of smoked meat (a crucial aspect of hunting itself), combine to form a pertinent realm through which to unravel Tsimane ideas about appropriate social living. Within this realm, Tsimane notions about the subtle interplay between relations of nurturance and relations of predation are explicitly revealed.

Whilst hunting and fishing transports people to different places both near and far, known and less known, they also place them into sometimes extreme states of vulnerability. I again argue here that the gradual acquisition of knowledge and experience of riverine habitats and of mountains and forests, renders them in part, more intimate and hence safer\(^2\). Just as humanly social \textit{sóbaqui} (visiting, travelling, hanging out) broadens the realm of the known humanly social world, so does hunting and fishing \textit{sóbaqui} expand the realm of a known, 'natural' environment\(^3\). Again however, it is perhaps necessary to repeat that situations of intimacy and of danger are subject themselves to constant transformation so that a safe state

---

\(^{1}\)I concentrate here on ideas and practices relating to hunting although fishing is equally as important, and rivers and fishing may be understood to fall within similar bounds of analysis.

\(^{2}\)Knowing a place however is not a guarantee of safety and protection. Known rocks for example, close to home are as likely to sorcerize as distant mountain rock outcrops (see chapter eight). Nevertheless, if danger and safety are perceived as lying along a continuum, knowledge and experience play an essential role in aiding a movement along the continuum towards safety.

\(^{3}\)The next section will clarify the problem of categorization in a discussion of definition of the 'natural' and the 'social' and of a subsequent re-alignment of the boundaries between them.
of being for example, may only be enjoyed as such temporarily. Again, it is the constant switching between varying 'states of being' which ultimately constitute sociality.

Questioning the boundaries between 'nature' and 'society' and of what constitutes these domains, has been the subject of recent, fascinating anthropological research and ultimately debate (see Ingold (1986, 1995), Descola (1992, 1994), Descola and Paulson (1996) and Arhem (1996). Descola, in an elegant analysis of Achuar hunting and gardening and thus of their relationships with the 'natural', proposes that the Achuar endow plants and animals with a social life and in so doing incorporate or annex the 'natural' into the 'social' domain. For the Achuar, argues Descola, nature is always constructed by reference to the human domain and 'Between a structuralist nature that is good to think and a marxist nature that is good to exploit there is perhaps room for a nature that is merely good to socialize' (1992:112). Such a system he suggests is animic in that the 'natural' world is incorporated into the humanly social world along a continuum, by donning the 'natural' with humanly social attributes. A totemic system in contrast, is one whereby the human social world is classified on a basis of observations of differences in the 'natural' world which he feels is not at play for the Achuar. In Descola's words, 'What I shall now term animic systems are a symmetrical inversion of totemic classifications: they do not exploit the differential relations between natural species to confer a conceptual order on society but rather use the elementary categories structuring social life to organize, in conceptual terms, the relations between human beings and natural species' (ibid:114).

The movement along this incorporating continuum is perceived by Descola, as unidirectional whereby human hunters and gardeners socialize with game (and game-mothers) and garden plants in accordance with strands of affinity and consanguinity. The socializing only flows in one direction, for example, as male hunters deceive game and game mothers in an intricate singing game of seduction and forever remove through killing without replacing the lost fecundity into the system. As such, a reciprocity along this socializing continuum is absent and the annexing of 'nature' into a humanly social domain only works towards the end of human appropriation and gain. 'Natural' fertility is gradually drained without a hint of replacement. 'By accounting his prey a relative and addressing friendly words to it, the hunter engages in a culturally specified deception that denies the unequal relationship which in reality exists between human beings and their animal victims. The objective is to allay the suspicions of these furry and feathery 'brothers-in-law' so that they will not avoid the hunter's darts or bear him a grudge because of his cannibalistic tendencies' (ibid:120). In such a system, argues Descola, an ideology of predation negates one of exchange.

This last point about the nature of predation has been interestingly picked up by Arhem (1996) in his observations of Makuna 'eco-cosmology'. Arhem begins by describing a
similar extension of human social categories to the 'natural' domain amongst the Makuna. The difference is that he finds room for both animism and totemism in Makuna human-nature relations (1996:190-191). His analysis differs from that of Descola in his ideas relating predation to exchange. For the Makuna, every act of predation, rather than exploiting and depleting 'natural' fertility, actually enables its regeneration in a never ending cycle of self-replenishing fecundity. In Arhem's words, 'The Makuna stress the continuity between nature and society, and ultimately the essential unity of all life as manifest in the notions of masa - the 'humanness' of all beings....Human predation - hunting, fishing, and gathering - is construed as exchange, and killing for food is represented as a generative act through which death is harnessed for the renewal of life.......Rather than proclaiming the supremacy of humankind over other life forms, thus legitimising human exploitation of nature, Makuna eco-cosmology emphasises man's responsibility towards the environment and the interdependence of nature and society. Human life is geared to a single, fundamental and socially valued goal: to maintain and reproduce the interconnected totality of beings which constitute the living world, 'to maintain the world', as the Makuna say. In fact, this cosmonomic responsibility towards the whole - and the accompanying shamanic knowledge - is, according to the Makuna, the hallmark of humanity' (1996:200-201).

In a later section I return to the differences outlined above between Arhem and Descola and relate them to Tsimane notions of the human-natural problematic. Meanwhile it is necessary to address another issue underlying both of these works and one upon which Ingold (1986, 1995) sheds considerable light. Whilst Descola and Arhem are evidently at pains to demonstrate a social continuum existing between man and his environment, the actual location of man with regards to his 'environment' is not clear. I take it that in both of their accounts, man essentially lies outside nature and understands and uses it by means of an extension of his own social categories. Or, as in the case of the Makuna, he combines this animism with a totemic system whereby nature is used to further classify human differences. Either way of looking at the relationship, man is perceived by the anthropologist, as lying beyond nature. Tim Ingold, in a struggle against both 'anthropocentric delusions of grandeur and ascendancy' (1986:35) and biological reductionism, attempts, I believe convincingly, to place man within and as part of nature. If we firmly place man within nature and not outside it, then it is perhaps less appropriate to speak of extending social categories and of incorporating the natural into the social. Instead the humanly social and naturally social, so to speak are part of the same phenomenon.

To develop his argument, Ingold turns to the phenomenological approaches of Heidegger (1971) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) who, as he explains, reverse the normal accepted order of human relationships with their surrounding world. 'Life, in this perspective, is not the revelation of pre-existent form but the very process wherein form is generated and held in
In short, they (the phenomenologists) maintain that it is through being lived in, rather than through having been constructed along the lines of some formal design, that the world becomes a meaningful environment for people' (1995:58). Such an approach he calls a 'dwelling perspective' (Heidegger 1971) and he shows how it effectively mediates the problems of Cartesian divisions of mind and body. As man 'dwells' in his environment, it is not only constructed by mental concerns, or as we have seen above, by an extension of humanly social categories. Instead environments are created and attributed meaning by being lived in. 'We can see how, by adopting a dwelling perspective - that is, by taking the animal-in-its environment rather than the self-contained individual as our point of departure - it is possible to dissolve the orthodox dichotomies between evolution and history, and between biology and culture' (ibid:77).

As I am so indebted to Ingold for clarifying my understandings of Tsimane sociality and for supporting my discomfort with the above cited authors, I will further quote him at length. 'In short, people do not import their ideas, plans or mental representations in the world, since that very world, to borrow a phrase from Merleau-Ponty (1962:24), is the homeland of their thoughts. Only because they already dwell therein can they think the thoughts they do.....It is the very notion of information, that form brought into environmental contexts of development, that is at fault here. For as we have seen, it is within such contexts, in the movement of human beings' (or non-human animals') practical engagement with the components of their surroundings that form is generated' (ibid:76-77).

Socializing with nature then, if understood within a 'dwelling perspective' is not about structuralist totemic relationships or about marxist relationships of exploitation (see Descola 1992) and is more than an extension from one domain to the other, or incorporation of one into the other. If we take the 'dwelling perspective' as a point of departure, man lives within and is part of the natural. The human and the so-called natural are both social domains and are both subject to similar forces latent and manifest in the social state. To clarify the above assertion, it is perhaps necessary to return to what I have described as being social existence for the Tsimanes and in so doing, it is to the Tsimanes that I now return.

Whilst I further endorse the proposal outlined above; that nature is a social realm for the Tsimanes, it is difficult to speak in terms (from their point of view) of an extension of humanly social categories into a natural domain. Kinship terminologies expressing relationships of consanguinity or affinity are not applied by the Tsimanes to human-animal-animal guardian relationships4. However in a description of hunting practices and the

---

4There is however potential here for a more explorative analysis in both Tsimane mythology and shamanic verse. A number of myths speak of forest fish and animal relations, describing these beings as consanguines or affines to human actors. I have recorded a large body of
preparation of smoked meat, and of all the carefully negotiated relationships involved both between humans and between humans and non-human beings, I suggest why and how Tsimane dealings with non-human forces in their universe may be understood as a highly social endeavour.

The Tsimanes co-habit and socialize with a wide array of forces and beings in a world which is both generous and violent; one which provides and generates life and one which also blocks life nurturing energies and is thus life removing. It would appear that the same relations (coloured by discretion, an avoidance of imposition, and of provocations of anger), which permeate humanly social relations, exist between humans and their non-human co-residents. As such, I argue that for the Tsimanes, socializing is about emotions, energies and a delicate etiquette. It works towards an intimacy and incorporation of the generative qualities of social emotions and energies, and avoids the predation inherent in anger. Descola suggests that for the Achuar, 'nature' is always constructed by reference to the human domain (1992:111). I however suggest that in a Tsimane context, human-non-human relations are not an extension of human categories used to annex the fertility of nature. The forces of nature, for the Tsimanes, which incorporate potential for a generation and depletion of life are understood and negotiated in the same way as the forces at play in humanly social relations. It is precisely these forces and the juggling of them which I believe constitute sociality for the Tsimanes. Thus social living is not only confined to a human condition, but is part of the experience of all living things. Human beings are but a segment in a multi-faceted social universe and all segments are subject to similar emotions and potencies. It is upon anger and an avoidance of anger that I choose to concentrate.

It is perhaps necessary to add however that the Tsimanes distinguish between humans and non-humans in many ways. Rosaldo (1980) in her analysis of Ilongot anger - liget, also discusses Ilongot ideas of their shared attributes with the 'natural' world and of their differences. 'People, spirits, and certain objects, like wind and rain, liquor, illness, chilli peppers, and fire, can be described as 'angry' (uliget), 'intensely angry' (uligelet), or as 'having anger' (si liget) - Objects as well as people can 'cause anger' (paliget); storms may grow intense or 'become angry' (limiget). But only people can 'be angered', 'get angry', or 'act excessively angry' (p.45). Rosaldo continues to explain that whilst Ilongot recognize that humans and non-humans manifest and experience anger, they are essentially shamanic hunting verse, much of which is in an 'ancient language', which as of yet, I have been unable to transcribe. I would suspect however that in song, game and game guardians are described and addressed as pertaining to a web of social relationships understood in terms of human categories (see also Riezer (1978, 1993), Pérez-Diez (1983)).

5See Campbell (1989) for an unpacking of what he considers to be western assumptions about what constitutes the animate and inanimate.
different by virtue of the fact that humans think and act with intention whilst non-humans do not.

I will discuss below the ways in which non-human beings share certain constituents of sociality with the Tsimanes. The most evident of these is the ability to become angry. It is also clear however, that whilst humans and non-humans share essential components of the social state, as with the Ilongot, there are also obvious differences between them. Whilst both become angry, both abhor encroachment upon their space, and enjoy various forms of communication (see below) and intimacy, there are also elements of human understood sociality which are only lived and experienced by humans. The element made most explicit by the Tsimanes is not the human ability to think, but the ability to involuntarily impinge upon and provoke others. Chapter eight explores the intrusion of sorcery sent in particular by guardians into human bodies. This form of intrusion however is performed with full conscious agency and intention on the part of the guardians. When humans impose upon others either by provoking them with smell or other forms of indiscretion, they do so unwittingly and so suffer the consequences. Whilst humans are at pains to assert control over their actions in the world, they never, it appears, take conscious decisions to provoke anger in others; to do so would be foolishly dangerous. Retaliatory sorcery attacks are perhaps the only example of the human conscious decision to act intrusively. They, however, are only performed in revenge after the death of a close kinsperson.

Despite such differences between the nature of being human and non-human (and of course there are many more), I still believe it is fair to suggest that Tsimanes and non-human entities dwell within one social world and partake in similar elements pertaining to social existence.

Whilst Tsimanes perceive that they dwell in 'nature' and as such share a social life with non-human beings, we only have access as anthropologists to the way in which the Tsimanes understand their position in the world in human terms. Descola shows us how Achuar understandings of nature in human terms are an extension of humanly social categories upon the natural world, to the end of a uni-directional exploitation of its fecundity. Arhem describes a similar extension of humanly social categories to incorporate the natural for the Makuna. In so doing, he endows the Makuna, as they do themselves, with the enormous responsibility of replenishing the world's vitality and resources. Tsimane understandings of their natural world in human terms neither place them in a position of responsibility nor as exploitative masters. Instead, they appear to understand their place in a world pregnant with potencies which have to be socialized with. Socializing for the Tsimanes is about carving out

\[6\text{The Tsimanes spoke little if at all about the social relations experienced between non-human beings. As such I am unable to consider their social life as apart from their interaction with humans.}\]
domains of safety and intimacy by appropriating the generative, nutritive elements of social potency and avoiding the co-existing elements of predation and danger.

Chapter eight will suggest that it is these forces at play in and between domains or more appropriately, segments of a domain, which when let loose or when allowed to pass over inappropriately and trespass from one segment to another, provoke sparks of potency to fly. Tsimane discourse about and action in the world around them manifest constant attempts to negotiate carefully between and within domains of potency. I initially understood such ideas of encroachment and of offending guardian beings with 'smell' for example, in terms of a transgression of boundaries, a human trespassing into non-human domains. Arhem (1996:197-99) explains how an important role of Makuna shamans is precisely to keep domains of fertility apart, since a failure to do so leads to non-human predatory forces incurring illness and death upon human trespassers. It seems however, that in the case of the Tsimanes, for nurturant forces to be tapped, for example in game meat acquisition, a merging of domains is not only inevitable but necessary. Furthermore if it is performed correctly, human and non-human interaction may be both enjoyable and highly productive. It appears then, that the issue is not to maintain separation between domains of fertility, but to socialize appropriately upon their merging. Inappropriate encroachment, forms of which are to be discussed below, provokes guardian beings who withdraw their generative potential and instead inflict illness and death as a result of their anger.

Whilst Achuar perceptions of their relationships with forces in nature appear to take a uni-directional, lineal form and the Makuna's take one of near perfect cyclical reciprocity, I find it more appropriate to understand Tsimane relations with the forces of social living as bi-directional or as textured by oscillating movement. One of the principal concerns of the thesis is to display Tsimane concerns with social etiquette and with appropriateness of individual and social movements and behaviour. In the recognition of the desire and need to act appropriately, whether it be with human kin or game guardians, is the simultaneous awareness of that which is provoked and rises to the surface as a result of inappropriate action, of social relations momentarily tainted or gone wrong.

*  

Tsimane hunting:
Many hunting trips take one or two men only a few kilometres from their settlement into the surrounding forest\(^7\). Traditionally, bows and a variety of arrows were used for hunting and

\(^7\)On such occasions men hunting together would usually be related as father-son (in-law) or brother (in-law) who are co-resident at the time. Occasionally if larger scale hunting expeditions are arranged, then word will be passed to kin who are not co-residents but who
many people still do use them. However most men either possess or have access to a rifle or shot gun. On such short excursions, women rarely accompany the men who return home in the evening, and the game is prepared by the hunters together with their sisters or wives by the river and inside the house. The game is de-furred or skinned on the hearth - munaqui, and prepared there for smoking - jaftaqui. Sometimes if someone is lucky enough to have killed a tapir, he may have to leave the dead animal in the forest and come back to the settlement to summon help to carry it back. Most often however, birds, monkeys and wild pigs are shot and carried back by the man who shot them.

These short hunting trips tend to take hunters to the nearest hills as game animals are believed to reside in hilly areas. This has to do in part with the fact that hilly areas are not inhabited by humans. They are also home to animal 'guardians' whose dwellings lie deep inside the hills (mucu'can). As it is becoming more and more difficult for the Tsimanes to find game near to home, hunting trips are often taking them several days into the forest and up into more distant hills. Such trips may involve greater organization so that several men and one or more women may participate. When a camp is decided upon, temporary shelters are constructed by the men and women together, usually out of palm fronds closely knotted together to form a waterproof roofing, and wood is gathered for the fire. When the men leave during the following days and nights to hunt, the women stay at camp and may prepare boiled plantains - canacday for the men's return, either to drink mixed with water or to accompany potential game meat. Most important however is the arduous and constant task of firewood collection for smoking the meat. On hunting trips lasting any more than one day, meat is not brought back raw to the settlement but is prepared and smoked in the forest. The supreme importance of successfully smoking meat and of not allowing it to rot will presently be revealed.

The presence of game and game guardians in hilly areas obviously renders such places fortuitous hunting grounds. Their presence however, is also reason for fear and careful dealings with their potential anger. There is constant evidence of the roaming of game animals and guardians over the surface of the earth especially in the form of meticulously observed spores and prints. Their entry and exit to and from their interior homes within the earth are also observed. Access to these homes is through rocks or more specifically through chui'dye' which are hole like formations found in many rocks and rock outcrops. Within the earth, game guardians care for their animals inside well guarded pens. The verb cójcaij do not live more than a day's travel away to join the expedition.

8The word chui'dye' is used as a general term for 'doorway'. It is also used for part of a spinning apparatus which is a carved block of wood with a hole through the middle of it. I did not find any other uses of the word but I suspect it may have been used in other contexts to refer to things penetrated by holes. 

124
is used to describe this relationship of care in a similar way as child care for humans, and the human care of domesticated animals -cu'dye'. Furthermore, game is referred to as cu'dye', thus domesticated and in a sense possessed by the guardians. One of the more popularly sung shamanic songs I heard was I'dojore's atava'. I'dojore is a fish guardian and atava means chicken, the domesticated animal par excellence. When I asked who I'dojore's chickens were I was promptly told that they were vonej, the most frequently caught fish (known as sábaló in Spanish). The relationship of guardian and game was also described to me as one between a ganadero and his ganado (cattle rancher and his cattle), in that the guardians carefully watch and care for their pets but also allow them to roam freely, allowing them through the exit of the pen, through the chui'dye' and out onto the land surface.

The dwindling supply of game is much commented upon by the Tsimanes and attributed to a variety of combined reasons. One was clearly the gradual encroachment on Tsimane territory by loggers and gold miners who are rapidly helping to exhaust game supplies. Another was the idea that these intruders, even if they did not hunt the game, scared it back inside the hills and into the secure care of its guardians. The reason most often expressed however, was the provoked anger of the guardians. When this was discussed, it was often infiltrated with New Tribes Mission stories and fears of the 'Day of Judgement' - juicio, and the notion of forecoming catastrophe provoked by the sins of living Tsimanes - juchájdie' or 'fall' translated by the NTM as sin. Because of human sins, the guardians are rapidly withdrawing game back into the hills as a punishment to man and to protect their 'pets' from imminent disaster.

The Tsimanes living around the Catholic mission at Fátima feel that the dramatic decline in white-lipped peccary which normally roam in troops of several hundred, is due to the fleeing of their guardians which are known specifically as copájshí. I was told that before the resident priest had begun to behave in a threateningly angry manner, the surrounding hills were inhabited by copájshi, and peccary were thus abundant. Since his presence, the copájshi and peccary have escaped down river and out onto the savannah.

In their role as controllers of game supply, guardians are perceived as both generous and benevolent and as a restriction to human well-being. They are also attributed with the powers of sorcery - farajtaesi, primarily provoked, as with human sorcery, by anger. Utmost care

---

9The possessive in Tsimane language is similar to that in English.
10I am still not entirely clear about how to unravel some of the stories on catastrophes such as fires and floods and eternal darkness. I would suggest that the New Tribes Missionaries did not face great difficulties in translating Old Testament stories into an acceptable form for the Tsimanes who it seems, 'traditionally' tell of past disasters and disasters to come.
is taken therefore not to anger the jājābā or ọ'pito who are most likely to reproach with deadly sorcery. (More detail on sorcery and the full implications of human and non-human sorcery are explored in chapter eight).

Stones, rocks and large rock outcrops are associated with guardian beings. When rocks are found near Tsimane settlements or when rock outcrops are encountered on travels, they are usually commented upon, often with awe if not fear. Rocks in the water or jutting out from river banks are usually homes to ọ'pito and i'dojoré, the fish guardians. Rocks encountered inside the forest and actual hills are dwelt in by animal guardians and other non-human beings. I was constantly warned not to swim across enticing clear pools to the rocks on the other side of the river as such behaviour would anger and provoke the forces within.

The dilemma is that whilst hunting it is difficult to avoid rocks, and communication with the guardian beings is deemed essential for both successful human-guardian social relations and for a continued supply of game. Whenever we went hunting and rock outcrops were encountered, considerable time would be spent by them. The hunters blow tobacco smoke (pu'shacsì) over the rocks, often 'blowing' rapid utterances in pleading communication with the guardians such as jam ra fácoij mi', jebacdye ra tui' mi' -don't be angry, bring game to us. As is found amongst many Amazonian peoples, tobacco is believed to possess special powers of protection and vision (Wilbert (1987)). Most Tsimane men and some women when travelling, hunting and fishing, keep a wad of fresh tobacco under their upper or bottom lip. It was explained that the guardians liked tobacco smoke and the sucking or chewing of tobacco was also seen as a protection from potentially angry and dangerous forces.

The most frequently visited rock outcrops are also salt licks or have saline water trickling out of small holes and cracks. Consequently many animal footprints are found surrounding the rocks. The Tsimanes explained to me that the animals came to the rocks because they liked the salty water, but also that the footprints were evidence of their passage through the

11 Jājābā can be understood as a generic term for animal guardians and the term most commonly used by the Tsimanes. Sometimes however, as in the case of copājshi (peccary guardian) mentioned above, specific guardians are associated with certain animals. O'pito is a fish guardian and manifests itself as a rainbow in the sky although it usually lives inside rocks.

12 Sometimes rocks themselves are attributed with sorcery powers without mentioning named guardian forces dwelling within.

13 Literally speaking, jebacdye' ra tui' mi' means 'bring game to us' but upon discussion with hunters it was shown to mean 'make game available to us' - see later discussion upon vision and accessibility. Pu'shacsì, the blowing on of tobacco smoke is central to most kinds of curing and protection amongst the Tsimanes.
When we went hunting up behind Yucumo, the group was very excited to find numerous prints surrounding the salt lick and felt this meant we were assured lucky hunting.

In one of the remotest corners of Tsimane territory, near the source of the Pachene river, lies a particularly important salt lick and hunting ground. At the crest of a hill lies a dramatic assemblage of large, moss covered rocks creating a pass or tunnel-like effect. They are covered in 'drawings' or petroglyphs which are usually described by the Tsimanes as creation drawings. Some people say that the original Tsimanes were created here through the drawings of mythic creator beings. On the other side of the hill, across the Pachene river lies a huge rock surrounded by a pool of very concentrated salty water. It is only about forty years ago that the majority of salt used by the Tsimanes, it is said, was obtained from this pool. Both the rocks lying at the crest of the hill, and the rock surrounded by salty water, embody and emit strong powers coming from powerful game guardians living within. The salt water itself is believed to be very potent and to possess curing qualities. This hilly area has always been considered as being especially rich in game. Spider monkeys (odo') are abundant and fatten during May/June which is also the beginning of the dry season, and the best time for travelling, hunting and fishing expeditions. So although the Pachene saltlick is no longer frequented for salt manufacture, it is an intensively hunted area during the dry season.

The above descriptions are to briefly illustrate how certain places are considered particularly fertile and are frequented as hunting grounds. More often than not such places lie near and around large rock outcrops and saltlicks. These areas are seen as potent both in a positive sense in that they supply game, and in a negative sense in that they embody potential danger. The human involvement and proximity with these places are deemed necessary for a tapping of these potencies and although being so near to a source of fertility, danger is feared and thus hunting grounds are entered nervously and treated with enormous care and respect. Nevertheless hunting expeditions are also enjoyed.

What is essential is not to avoid guardian beings but to socialize with them appropriately. It is inappropriate behaviour which I argue can be glossed as imposing and impinging behaviour which provokes anger and results in sorcery. By communicating softly and carefully with guardian beings and with the game itself, hunters attempt to appropriate their benevolent generosity and painstakingly navigate their way through a minefield of potential danger. 

14When talking of the guardian spirit living within, rather than referring to it as jājābā (the generic term for guardian being), they said it was a Señora - a Brinca -meaning white woman. This was the only time that guardians were described to me in this way. See Overing (1996) on Piaroa images of Conquistadores.
anger. Through pu'shacsi, the 'blowing' of tobacco smoke, the pleading utterances, and shamanic singing, hunters communicate both with game and their guardians. Such communication is highly social in nature and as I have stressed is perceived as crucial in the creation and maintenance of successful social relationships between humans and their non-human co-residents. Similarly, the 'calling' of animals, a valued acquired skill whereby good hunters learn to almost perfectly mimic the calls of their potential victims, and hence attract or seduce them towards their fate is a form of highly social communication. Much of shamanic verse takes the form of pleading with game guardians to render game visible and hence accessible to human hunters. Rather than perceiving this singing and calling relationship of seduction as one of hidden deception (cf Descola (1994) on the Achuar), the Tsimanes stress that ultimately the game guardians enjoy the well-being of their human neighbours and an essential element of their well-being is the consumption of well prepared game meat and beer. Guardians are not deceived into supplying game to humans. It is something they wish to do as long as communication and socializing takes a preferred form and is not offensive.

A number of Amazonian ethnographies explore aspects of human and non-human communication in forms of speaking, hearing and singing (see Seeger (1987), Hill (1993), Taylor (1993)). Passes (1996 and pers. comm.) discusses the vital role of communication in Pai'kwene (Palikur) hunting. One of the necessary forms of communication takes place not between hunters themselves but between hunters and the game they are hunting. Speaking with animals is essential for finding prey and for establishing a relationship with it. Human communication with animals, whilst appearing to Passes as a whistling, is described by the Pai'kwene themselves as a 'blowing of breath in the animal's own language'. Once spoken to in its own language, the animal may well 'speak' in return. An integral element of successful communication for the Pai'kwene is 'good hearing' which they believe has 'causal power' and Passes continues to discuss the role of audition in Pai'kwene interaction with the supernatural world. He suggests furthermore that such interrelations of communication between the Pai'kwene and animal and supernatural species could be social, and that relations of 'good hearing' and 'good speaking' form a discursive and social exchange between humans and their 'natural environment'.

*

A major concern in navigating guardian 'moods' is to avoid offending them with smell - poquidye' or oc mo', especially that which emits from bodily fluids and putrefaction. The odour which seeps from rotting animal and fish flesh presents a cause for particular

15 Again, a fuller discussion of odour appears in chapter eight.
concern. Tsimane hunters would explain that whilst guardians enjoyed being sung and spoken to and enjoyed receiving gusts of tobacco smoke, the presence of putrid, rotting flesh was especially onerous to them. Whilst hunting or fishing, men and women go to lengths to trace escaping game and fish. A shot monkey for example, which runs off into the trees and dies without being smoked and eaten by humans, amounts to considerable reason for alarm. Occasionally when a particularly large fish is caught alive along with a large catch of smaller fish, the larger fish will be kept alive in water whilst the smaller fish are quickly prepared for smoking. If this was not performed, those fishing, run the danger of allowing the fish to begin a rotting process before it could be successfully prepared and smoked. Herein lies the supreme importance, of avoiding the escape of fish and game, and also of successfully smoking its meat. Once meat is well smoked it may be stored in the rafters of a house without rotting for several weeks. Smoking meat - jaftaquí is considered a female task although not exclusively so.

On one hunting trip where I was the only woman present, I was left alone during the day for five days to prepare and smoke game meat whilst the male hunters tracked down more animals. I was totally unaware of the constant vigilance required and of the amount of firewood necessary for the continued smoking of large quantities of meat. As a result I was unable to successfully smoke all the meat and a large portion began to putrefy. The Tsimanes could not hide both their irritation at my ineptitude or their distress at the implications of so much rotting flesh. It was then that I fully realized the urgency felt with regards to a correct preparation of game meat and fish. They were not only annoyed that part of their catch had perhaps gone to waste but were acutely worried about guardian provocation.

Just as sóbaqui and appropriate social behaviour are crucial to intra-human socializing, so they are for successful socializing between humans and their non-human co-residents. Visiting and knowing places and people render them known, and the traveller and visitor more capable in terms of his/her social skills. Careful observation and tracking of the forest environment, render it, at least potentially, more intimate and thus more likely to provide rather than harm.

* 

Whilst travelling, hunting and fishing with Tsimanes I was particularly struck by a running verbal commentary concerning features of the surrounding landscape. The constant recounting of detailed observations usually flowed from older to younger individuals (see also chapter two) and would most often link recent and distant past experience with specific places along the way. A way of 'understanding' the environment and rendering it familiar it
seemed, was through attributing specific meaning to parts of it by recalling and situating experience within it16.

Part of this relay of information on experience and knowledge of the landscape consists of detailed observations of fish and animal movements, habits, and of minute seasonal changes. I, and young hunters and travellers would be continually educated into the specificities of animal and fish diets and the importance of season in determining their movements and well-being. For example, when the sharagdye' trees are in flower, usually in the middle of August, the middle of the dry season, certain species such as the opaj (pavo mutún (Spanish) - a species of wild turkey) fatten, call loudly through the forest and are good for hunting. This is but one of the many minute observations and associations drawn between season, place and the movements and habits of game.

An aspect of this sharing of knowledge which also surprised me was the fact that much of it related to experience of several years past. When I went hunting with a group of people from Yucumo for example, Adrian Saravia was keen to keep me informed about the changes that had taken place in the environment since a hunting trip he and his wife had undertaken at least six years back. He showed me exactly where he had killed a tapir and where they had decided to set up camp to smoke the large quantities of meat. Such sharing of experience endows knowledge and at the same time, renders places potentially safer and more nurturant domains to nervous and hopeful hunters.

Young boys and occasionally young girls from about the age of seven accompany their parents on hunting trips. They clearly suffer as they stumble, tire easily, show inexperience in all the tasks necessary to successfully navigate the forest and as such, become the butt of much affectionate ridicule. Yet these novices of the forest are also treated with utmost care and are carefully shown how to walk within the forest and to know it - to recognize animal tracks, spores and calls.

One of the clearest manifestations of a shared knowledge and understanding of the environment lies in the continued use and care of pathways. Pathways are often associated with the individual who is claimed to have first cleared the route and their retreading is essential not only for maintaining the pathway but as part of the repetitive, detailed way in which the environment is reckoned, navigated and known. Human pathways inevitably and preferably cross with animal pathways and hence provide immediate access to the whereabouts of game and of their movements. In Yucumo, both Demetrio and Pascual showed me several deer and peccary runs which crossed one of the principal pathways

16See Tilley (1994) for further development upon situating experience within places.
connecting clusters of the settlement. They explained that whilst they frequented this pathway, they would wait by the runs every day, and that in this way really grew to know the practices of peccary and deer. Pascual eventually killed a deer along this pathway, a feat he attributed as a successful result of his meticulous vigilance and repeated observation.

The sharing of knowledge and information described above constitutes a crucial part of hunting gossip which in turn forms an important element of the specific kind of social situation created between hunters both whilst in the forest and upon return to the settlement. During the hunting trips in which I partook, I sensed a nervousness and vulnerability amongst the hunters and their wives which created a particularly tense atmosphere I had not previously perceived in the settlements or along the rivers. The tension it seems, was in part connected to the growing suspense of whether the hunt was to be successful or not. Tracking, finding and shooting game is difficult and requires great concentration and skill. Part of the tension however, was related to the fact that we were in somewhat frightening places. The possible threat of jaguars and the actions of guardian spirits were constantly mentioned and nervously giggled about. Perhaps the evident changes in the landscape as we gradually climbed from a familiar riverine habitat into the rocky hills contributed to a sense of unfamiliarity and foreboding. The trees gradually become smaller and less dense up in the hills, rocky outcrops more common and the water sparkling and clear.

On all hunting occasions, the atmosphere of fear, tension and foreboding changed considerably after the first game was brought back and prepared for smoking. The entrails of the game were immediately washed, cooked and shared between all present, irrelevant of who had actually killed the animal. They were either boiled up or roasted over the fire. The joint cooking and sharing of the entrails on these occasions was accompanied by an excited and gutsy atmosphere, creating a special kind of intimacy removed and elevated from the closeness of daily living. Such is what makes the game guardians happy, I was told. Being in hunting spaces, close to the dwellings of game and their guardians, need not be a negative imposition by humans, but actually an enjoyed form of sociability. Nurturance is tapped and created in the form of successfully caught and cooked game and in the special intimacy enjoyed between the hunters.

A further capability relating to an ability to know and negotiate the landscape is vision, and Tsimanes are explicit about the value they place upon it. Whether it be a view through trees, or bread rolls placed deep inside a dark oven, fish under water, animals through the forest or beings in the dark or within the hills, the value placed upon the ability to see is marked. The word **furójcan**, meaning an ability to see through and clearly is used in all the above
contexts to describe a quality of vision17.

It could be suggested that a quality of visibility is especially valued given the norm of difficulty of seeing anything other than at very close range in this forest environment. Most Tsimane houses are surrounded by a small clearing but little can be seen from the house and its clearing other than the beginnings of dense forest or garden vegetation, or to the other side of a narrow watercourse. Views, at least in a panoramic sense are virtually non-existent. The only times I felt I enjoyed anything resembling my own notion of a view was on the Maniqui river, the main watercourse of Tsimane territory. Even this relatively large river has only very short straight stretches and lurches rapidly from one large meander to the next, sometimes causing the impression that one is travelling backwards. Its ramblings make any lasting impression of a view or direction almost impossible to maintain. The other feeling of openness and of view was obtained after climbing high into the hills. Such elevated views I found particularly exciting and fleeting. One suddenly has a vision through the trees, across a plain of trees below and out onto the savannah.

Gell (1995) has criticized a visionary bias in anthropology in his considerations of the role of audition in Umeda understanding and experience of their dense, forest landscape. He develops his arguments in a linguistic sense, arguing for a phonological iconism amongst the Umeda18. The Umeda may place more importance on audition because their forest environment impedes an extended sense of vision, or access to views. Gell’s considerations of what constitutes vision and views may however be brought into question. The fleeting momentariness of snatched views or of partial glimpses may not perhaps amount to anything of a complete, visionary whole for us. In the case of the Tsimanes at least, I suggest that an amassing of numerous partial glimpses, congealed with experience and shared meaning, amount to a visionary whole.

A variety of hunting charms or 'medicines' - piñidye' and nigdye', which are believed to affect visual capabilities, are used both by hunters and tied to new born baby boys. Feathers of certain birds, especially opaj are tied to the baby's hammocks and attached to string around their necks. Small pieces of polished isatri (amber), are also tied around children's and adult hunters' necks. Isatri is also rubbed into the eyes of young boys and men to enable them to see well and have an accurate shot. Women also rub a female version of Isatri, pensi isatri, into their eyes to improve their accuracy and vision in weaving. The Tsimanes say that they keep gall bladders, feet and bones so that the game does not leave

17In chapter eight I discuss the role of vision and visibility in shamanic endeavours. I do not discuss weaving at length in this thesis other than to evoke it as an essentially female capability, the skill of which is believed to depend on the quality of the weaver's vision.

18See also Weiner (1991) and Feld (1982) on Foi and Kaluli audition respectively.
(inside the hills or onto the plains) and so that 'it allows itself to be seen' or so that the hunters are able to see - 'jam qui joban' jebacdye' mu', paj qui najiti tsun'. Gall bladders of a variety of animals are carefully removed from the liver and hung above the hearth where they may remain for several years. Animal's feet, especially those of three-toed sloths are also hung above the hearth. Once the bones of any game animal have been stripped clean of meat, they are invariably stored for years in the rafters of the house.

An important role of Tsimane shamans or C'ocoj'si's, I was told, is (or at least was) to communicate with game animals and their guardians, and to solicit them to reveal their whereabouts. Much of shamanic verse - C'ocoj'si's jimacdye' takes on a pleading note in its repetitive incantations. The songs I was able to transcribe beg both game and game guardians not to leave the Tsimanes' preferred hunting grounds and not to escape out onto the open savannahs or deep inside the hills. They entreat them to reveal themselves to the hunters, to voluntarily render themselves visible and thus to offer themselves up for human consumption. I suggested previously that such a form of communication is highly social and is again a reminder that social relations and communication are not limited to within the human domain.

Dreams and the sharing of dream experienced knowledge also reveal the importance of vision in determining the whereabouts of game and the future luck of the hunters. Most mornings, usually huddled around the fire, families exchange details of the dreams experienced through the night. Animal guardians and animals make themselves visible and known through dreams and such dreams are invariably acted upon, the contents of dreams often forming the deciding impulse behind daily hunting plans and directions.

In a discussion of knowing the environment, through shared observation and experience of it, in particular the seeing of it, I have suggested ways in which human hunters create a special intimacy both amongst themselves and with the places, game animals and guardians they meet and seek out along their way. Such intimacy is an element of the self same sociality created between human kin, co-residents and visitors. It is found here to exist and be created both between humans themselves and between humans and their non-human co-residents. This positive element of social relations is sculpted by a successful negotiation and tapping of nurturing forces. More threatening, predative forces, are in this way circumvented.

---

19 See Riester (1986).
Once game has been tracked down and killed, it is carefully prepared, and either eaten in the forest or preferably returned to the human settlement, where a slightly different form of human intimacy and sociality is cultivated. Birds are usually defeathered at the spot killed and by the man who shot them. Invariably the feet are also buried at this spot, a burial associated with the ideas and practices already discussed with reference to gall-bladders and bones. These practices constitute efforts to harness the predictability and continuity of game supply. If the hunt does not take the hunter far from his house, other animals killed are taken back to the household hearth for preparation, usually trussed up with tree bark on the hunter’s back. If the hunting trip is far from home, the game is brought back to the camp and handed over to a woman, if present, who immediately proceeds to munaqui, scorch and remove the fur over the fire by scraping it with a sharp knife. Men readily help with such work and are perfectly adept at it in the absence of female companionship. Very little of the insides of game animals are discarded. Everything including lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, intestines and stomach is carefully examined and washed. Small children are particularly keen to poke around and examine entrails, identifying them and discussing their size and functions. The gall-bladder is carefully removed from the liver and either thrown away or if it is unruptured and in good condition, is kept as a hunting charm. The main body of the animal is then trussed up with thin lianas or strips of bark and placed upon a grid over a carefully prepared fire which must consist of embers rather than flames so as not to burn the meat. This is the jaftaqui process already mentioned which is considered difficult to carry out properly in a way to avoid both the burning and rotting of game meat.

Although women are considered to know best how to smoke meat, men also know and do smoke meat, however ineptly, when necessary. One day Claro Viye and his brother-in-law returned home to Yucumo with several smoked animals. They handed some of it over to me as I had provided them with ammunition for this purpose. All the members of the household I was living with (the house belonged to Claro’s sister Lorencia and her husband) commented upon the fact that the meat was half rotten, and that Claro (and most men) did not really know how to smoke meat properly and that he was lazy.

What I am stressing here is the importance of jaftaqui, meat smoking as an acquired and usually specifically gendered task. It is a crucial part of the hunting process, whether it takes place in the forest or at home. The importance placed upon it, as I have discussed earlier in the chapter, clearly illustrates the concern with dealing carefully and appropriately with game and with its guardians. Through the successful smoking of game meat through meticulous

---

20 A discussion of game preparation introduces elements of gender reckoning amongst the Tsimanes, elements which will be more fully elaborated upon in the following chapter, as will be the patterns of eating and food distribution which are briefly described here by means of introduction.
vigilance and care, meat is well cooked and prevented from rotting. Meat production is not only about men tracking and shooting animals but is about men and women (often women are considered to 'see' particularly well in their dreams) producing safely cooked meat and as such, both men and women play an important part in negotiating the anger and nurturance of guardian beings.

We returned to Yucumo after a hunt with very little meat some of which was slightly rotting. This engendered a general bad feeling amongst the hunters and amongst the kin awaiting their return, though many excuses were given about wet weather. In fact, most of the meat had been eaten by us at the campsite. Thus the women waiting for the return of their men were visibly and correctly disappointed that so little meat had been brought back to them after four days hunting. They meanwhile had been preparing maize and cassava beer for the return of their tired and thirsty men. One large pan of cooked meat and rice was, in the end, shared amongst all present members of the household.

There appear to be no rigid rules determining who receives what portion of meat and sometimes it felt more like an issue of first come, first serve. Women however are renowned for preferring the heads of animals and usually remain seated after everyone has finished, carefully picking out monkey brains and scraping the skulls clean. Women also frequently voiced their desire for fish heads. Much joking surrounds the subject of women and head eating and it was always jokingly suggested that I demand the head of whatever was being caught and eaten.

What is particularly relevant is that no raw or cooked meat was distributed outside this household and such a situation is representative of a normal pattern of food distribution amongst the Tsimanes. Meat is not widely shared. This particular household stands alone and is not part of a more typical clustered pattern of two to three households (see chapter three). Usually meat will be shared, most often in cooked form, between households of a cluster. However, it rarely, if ever, leaves the cluster.

* 

Hunting through to smoking game meat engages Tsimane men and women intimately with their surrounding environment and with the beings and forces which dwell within it. They

21See Gow (1991) on female demands for meat and sex amongst the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba. Many amazonian peoples draw explicit metaphors between sexual organs, sexual satisfaction and meat and its consumption. Tsimane women without sexual partners or missing their absent husbands would also be joked about as suffering from hunger, without enough meat to keep them satisfied and full. Plantains more than meat however, were, from a female point of view, usually the metaphor for satisfying sex.
are exposed and made vulnerable to both the dangerous predation and nurturance of non-human social forces. Such forces and human relations with the non-human are social, not because the Tsimanes extend humanly social categories of consanguinity and affinity to their non-human relations (see Descola and Arhem), but because they dwell within the same environment which is subject to particular forces of nurturance and predation. Social living is about negotiating these differing facets of being in the world, whether it be between human components or between human and non-human elements. A comfortable, safe and generative sociality is chiselled out by Tsimanes as long as they are careful and successful with their dealings with both human and non-human presence.
CHAPTER SEVEN: FOOD, BEER AND GENDER

Sundays at Fátima, the Catholic Mission and in some other nearby settlements, are considered the best time for social beer drinking. Ramona Huasnay, the woman who had prepared most beer one Sunday, had carefully laid palm mats on the floor and placed wooden stools around the edge. Gradually visitors began to drift in to the house, having heard that Ramona had prepared several vats of well fermented beer. Men and women sat down in a vague circular position, with most women tending to cluster together on the mats whilst the men sat on the stools, and awaited the three gourds which were filled by Ramona and passed around the circle as each person took several gulps of the beer. Everyone chatted quite comfortably and intimately and the beer continued to flow.

Meanwhile Ramona’s son arrived with a capuchin monkey he had shot that morning. The hearth of the household was at the far end of the house and partly separated from the central room where the guests were drinking by a flimsy, transparent partition. Everyone present could see the arrival of the game but nothing was mentioned. Ramona’s son and his wife quickly prepared the fire for smoking the meat. The monkey was cut into pieces and a small piece was cooked with rice for immediate consumption. When the pan of food was ready the members of household gathered around the fire to eat while all the visitors remained seated drinking beer. Ramona called upon one of the visitors to come and eat, calling him by the term awa’ - child or classificatory child - and he went over to the huddled group around the fire and helped himself to the food. Nobody else was offered food and nor would they have expected to have been. The striking difference between the small, huddled group eating around the fire and the open circle of people sharing beer in an ever increasing crescendo of noise and intimacy was impressive. Both groups were in clear sight of the other and no expectations of wider food distribution were expressed, or I imagine, thought.

I have discussed the absence of community amongst the Tsimanes in a sense of continued physicality and place, and looked instead towards various constituents of sociality and ways of being, some appropriate and others non-desired. In this chapter, I discuss the role of food and beer production, distribution and consumption in creating differing forms of sociality amongst the Tsimanes. I concentrate on the ways in which preferred styles of living are inevitably linked to working relations of co-operation between men and women, recognising that neither men nor women are endowed with special recognition or position in their respective roles. I will show that both female and male domains are, despite their differences, crucial to rendering appropriate and desirable social living possible.

I have described elsewhere the specific social makeup of Fátima, explaining the fact that people not sharing close kinship relations live close together and are involved in closer interaction than would be the case in any other Tsimane social situation. During the drinking session described here, it was difficult to discern the kinship relations between those present drinking together.

137
An important element of preferred states of being for the Tsimanes, rests upon ideas of safety and intimacy inextricably linked to eating and drinking activities. A certain essence of an individual’s social being, both as producer and consumer becomes incorporated into food and drink by way of their preparation and consumption. Furthermore, social forces of nurturance or predation of non-human beings also imbue meat and beer with negative or positive fertility. Such forces must be considered and carefully gauged in the processes of both production and consumption.²

There appears therefore to be an intrinsic ambivalence surrounding food and drink for the Tsimanes. Whilst social living in its variety of forms depends on the provision of nurturance in the form of food and drink, these substances and the processes and relationships involved in their production, may simultaneously offer a potential vehicle for sorcery or direct poisoning. As such, he or she who provides and prepares one’s food and drink and those who consume together are recognized as part of the intertwining process leading from the production of food and drink through to their consumption. Thus the daily negotiations between nurturant and dangerous potentialities as part of a human and non-human social world, are again manifest in ideas relating to the preparation and consumption of food and drink.

Overing (1985, 1989, 1992) suggests that for the Piaroa and other Amazonian peoples, eating is always a predatory, cannibalistic act. The main point being here that food, feeding and all the relations involved in the processes of production and consumption, from clearing gardens to eating and drinking together incorporates more complex ideas about the human position in the world, rather than being restricted to ideas about biology and the satisfaction of basic subsistence needs.³ Incorporated into ideas and practices relating to food and drink production and consumption, are an array of notions about corporeality, personhood, appropriate social relations and related social etiquette, as are human relations with non-human beings co-habiting the universe.

An exploration of certain aspects of Tsimane social life relating to food and drink lead me to distinguish between two forms of sociality; one relatively atomized⁴ and the other embracing. Social life within the residential unit and in a limited sense beyond it, is defined to a large extent by relations of food sharing and consumption. Food is only shared in situations characterized by an especially relaxed comfort. A form of sociality created through relations of food distribution is the specially restricted form of intimacy shared within

²Chapter eight discusses the implications of the incorporation of negative fertility in more detail.
³See Gow (1992) for a critique of previous assumptions about subsistence economies.
⁴The notion of ‘atomized’ sociality is in itself a fiction amongst the Tsimanes as all forms of sociality are embedded in a shifting set of relationships (see chapters three and four).
households or between households of a cluster and depends in particular upon the male capabilities of supplying meat and fish.

An alternative form of sociality is that induced by beer distribution and consumption which reaches far beyond the household domain and may include many strands of a dispersed kindred network. This domain will be shown below to be predominantly female. Tsimane women, may thereby be placed at the centre, not of Tsimane social life as a whole, but of a necessary and desirable form of social living; that which dissolves the boundaries instated by a household created intimacy.

If observing relationships of co-residence invoked in food related activities, especially in the absence of a sense of community through a residentially bounded settlement, it is necessary to consider the place of Tsimane houses in the creation of social relations. Riviere (1995)\(^5\) notes that the household in the Guianas is important only in so far as it constitutes a group of people which lasts as long as the building in which it lives. 'The house is the crucial social institution throughout the Guiana region. It is the focus of social and cultural life. At the same time in its claim to self-sufficiency and consanguinity it is a fiction. Its ephemerality equally denies it any role in the transmission of qualities from one generation to the next. It is a moral entity but only for as long as it survives; otherwise it has none of the qualities of a corporate group' (p.201). He finally questions the legitimacy of the notion of house as an analytical category\(^6\) for such 'fluid' peoples as those of the Guianas.

In the case of the Tsimanes I would go even further than Rivière in his emphasis upon the ephemerality of the Guianese house, for Tsimane households do not even claim to self-sufficiency and social wholeness. The Tsimanes perhaps represent an extreme case of a people lacking corporate groups. Individuals recognize the need and desire to move between households and share their time, company and work with physically different groups of kin and affines. Nevertheless, for the duration of co-residence, the house may also be understood as a 'crucial social institution' and the centre of production, consumption and distribution for those co-resident or visiting at any given moment in time.

It is whilst actually living together in a household or cluster of households that relations of food sharing are most likely to be open and enjoyed. Despite the fluidity of household composition, extensive portions of kindred networks actually produce and consume

\(^5\)Inspired by Lévi-Strauss's ideas of 'House societies', Carsten and Hugh-Jones' (1995) compiled edition of house-related articles represents perhaps best the recent anthropological interest in the house as a social category of analysis.

\(^6\)At least in the sense posited by Lévi-Strauss. Lévi-Strauss's writings on 'societes a maison' are most clearly elaborated in 'The Way of the Masks' (1983) but earlier and later references are made. See also Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) for a full discussion of Lévi-Strauss's ideas on house societies.
together. It is the moments experienced and enjoyed during periods of co-residence that I suggest create in part, a specific, intimate form of sociality related to food production and consumption. Such moments may also be created during more sporadic visits, but a hint of discomfort, embarrassment, fear or danger usually renders the possibility of food sharing undesirable outside the direct sphere of the household or cluster of households. I further suggest how eating together is not always an assumed possibility even with and amongst visiting close kin.

I suggest again therefore, that such relations of consumption depend more on mood and appropriate affectivity (see Goldman 1963, Rivière 1969, Overing 1989) than upon the known relations of kinship. This element will also be discussed with reference to the dynamics of the conjugal relationship of husband and wife in particular. The role of mood has been underlined throughout this thesis in my particular concern to explore Tsimane ideas and practices relating to an aesthetics of living. Social relations are not part of given structures but are carefully created. Their creation rests more upon this concern with atmosphere and affectivity and upon a lack of anger and embarrassment in particular, than upon a given relatedness between kin.

The social relations invoked and created in beer distribution are more far reaching and include co-residents, and also visiting or passing kinspeople who may never share relations of co-residence. Non-Tsimanes or Napo’ may even be invited to share in drinking festivities. The form of sociality created in beer gatherings is freer than that defined by food sharing. It is less hindered by considerations of who is present and the potential dangers they contribute. Tsimanes would often reveal the difficulties and dangers of eating in certain company and would refrain from preparing or offering food. Drink however is always offered if present, and its consumption depends less on affective atmospheres. Indeed, its presence is considered to dissolve any lurking potential of threatening emotion to create proper affectivity.

There is of course some overlap between the two forms of sociality revealed above. Sections of a dispersed kindred network may inevitably co-reside, and so relations of visiting associated with beer consumption and those of co-residence engendering and engendered by food sharing, may merge. Despite this overlap, it is still possible to distinguish between a restricted form of food related sociality and a freer form of beer induced relations. What is clear is that while it is possible and desirable to drink with kinspeople with whom one may

---

7 Overing (1992) goes as far as to suggest that amongst the Piaroa, no 'social structure' exists at least according to how anthropologists have previously defined it.

8 It is interesting to note however that despite the freer flowing, encompassing form of sociality created by beer consumption, beer is considered a sorcery-transmitting substance par excellence (see chapter eight). As such it is not possible to discern a lack of potential danger in beer drinking situations. This problematic will be discussed later on in the paper.
never co-reside, to eat with them could be more problematic and is dependent upon an appropriateness of mood.

To return to a permeating thread of the thesis, Tsimane sociality exists not as some uniform whole but instead as a series of states of being. It is the peripatetic oscillations between them which engenders appropriate and desirable social living. The forms of social living induced by beer and food distribution and consumption, represent but necessary states of being enjoyed and experienced in socially restricted and embracing contexts respectively.

Each form of Tsimane sociality depends on the provision of nurturance in the form of food or drink and in the varying kinds of intimacy created in socializing. The provision of nurturance itself depends on the complementary nature of male and female labour combined with a successful gauging of potentialities and life generating forces along the way. Such potentialities are present in the social interactions between human and non-human beings and are embodied in the substance itself whether as safe and successfully smoked meat or strong beer. Through consuming food, co-resident members of households create and reaffirm a special intimacy between them. Members of a wider kindred network enjoy and experience a desirable and necessary form of intimacy through beer consumption which is itself deemed essential for their meeting at all.

The products therefore of male and female work in the differing forms of food and drink and in their distribution, serve to define and highlight these two necessary but contrary forms of sociality. I argue that their successful interplay lies at the heart of an understanding of Tsimane ideas of what constitutes the right way to live and thereby what forms their aesthetics of living.

* 

It becomes apparent then that relations of gender permeate those of production and consumption and the associated patterns of socializing. It is the husband and wife relationship in particular which is central to successful production and consumption. In considering the role of gender complementarity in these contexts, it would be erroneous to give priority to either gender in their respective roles. Instead a stress is placed upon male and female relatedness and co-operation as a primary force behind the creation of different but necessary types of sociality. Thus male/female complementarity is intrinsic to a view and creation of appropriate and desirable social life styles amongst the Tsimanes.

The products of male and female labour are converted into food and drink, each entering differing spheres of distribution. It is of particular interest that gardens may be cultivated in
more than one place\textsuperscript{9}. Relations of consumption therefore undergo the influence of fluidity and change in the same way as do relationships of co-residence discussed in chapter three. The unit of husband and wife along with their unmarried children provides something enduring in the described flux and changing relationships of consumption. Their working relationship is crucial to a creation and perpetuation of social relationships both within their nuclear context and beyond this, along the various avenues or pathways of their dispersed kindred networks. I should point out that the enduring nature of a husband-wife relationship and of its combined productive capacities is as relevant in a context where the husband and wife are themselves moving between locations, as it is when they are relatively stationary. When a husband and wife are relatively fixed, it is usually after their children have married and are moving and living between sets of kin and affines. As their children (in-law) live and work with them on and off during the year or over a period of several years, the composition of households lived in by stationary, older couples remains in a state of flux. As I stressed in chapter two, the movement of others is as important as the movement of oneself in considering relationships of co-residence, production and consumption.

It is important to clarify that in considering the central importance of male/female relationships and that of husband and wife in particular, they are not perceived as relationships of exchange. As I have mentioned, neither the conjugal relations of husband and wife and of sociality and community as a whole are predicated upon a notion of exchange of people or things. This was an issue pointed out earlier by Rivière (1969) and Overing (Kaplan) (1973, 1975, 1992). Overing (1992) criticizes a tendency in past anthropological theory to stress exchange in its role of creating both peace and social relations between the peoples concerned. She discusses instead the importance of sharing and producing in creating safe and desirable sociality amongst the Piaroa. 'Unlike Lévi-Strauss, the Piaroa saw production and not exchange as conducive of peace; even marriage, which ideally was endogamous to community was put at a remove from both the domain of exchange and reciprocal gift giving' (p.181). She goes on to say that, 'In the realm of marriage, it meant that safety was to be achieved in the dangerous coming together of (predatory) forces only if its establishment could be withdrawn from the area of foreign politics and exchange, and instead be squarely placed within the domain of sharing and productive relations of community life' (pp.195-6).

A critique of exchange theory applied in Amazonia has also been developed by Gow (1989) who shows that for the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba, people and things are not mutually convertible but instead are based on social relations predicated on caring, mutuality, demand and respect. He provides a useful critique of Siskind's (1973) understanding of Sharanahua

\textsuperscript{9}This is particularly relevant when considering the productive work of young married couples who, as I have previously discussed are most likely to live and produce between at least two locations.
'Economy of hunting and sex' as one of exchange. He explains that such a commodity based treatment of Native Amazonian economies is quite inappropriate. 'In the present case, the importation of this Western logic of proprietorship into the context of Native Amazonian subsistence economies obscures the original issue: people are not talking about the 'rates of exchange' between different commodities such as game and sexual favours, nor about their respective property rights over products of their own bodies. In Native Amazonian daily life, people are talking about hunger and sexual desire, and the satisfaction of these desires by other people' (p.568).

A consideration of conjugality in work relations is by no means new or original. Rivière (1969) was pioneering in his emphasis upon male and female 'conjugality' between both Trio brothers and sisters and husbands and wives, '..subsistence and survival depend on the co-operation of both sexes, and thus the smallest viable economic unit is the male/female partnership. The conventional division of labour and the strict adherence to certain aspects of it means that men and women do not join in the same tasks but that their joint and independent efforts achieve a whole, which no unisexual co-operation can. For a Trio, both as a boy and man, this partnership can be with his sister.....From an early age,....an affective relationship grows up between brother and sister, and in later life develops into an economic interdependence which is most apparent when neither is married and is least obvious when both are married' (1969:187-8). Rivière discusses how marriage does not lead to a dissolving of the tie between brothers and sisters but that the new economic interdependence between husband and wife essentially replaces that previously at play between brothers and sisters10. This recognition of the creative dynamics of cross-sex relationships was in itself a large step forward from a previous emphasis in anthropological literature upon the role of male in-law relationships in indigenous social organization (Lévi-Strauss 1943, 1969).

The ethnographies of Thomas (1982), Goldman (1963) and S. Hugh-Jones (1979) all consider in depth the question of gender relations as ones of difference and in specific relation to labour. Christine Hugh-Jones (1979) was the first to develop a fully detailed analysis of the female role in production amongst the Barasana. Although previous works considered female labour as important, they reveal a lack of analysis of its role in creating and perpetuating social relations.

The more recent works of Gow (1989, 1991), McCallum (1989) and Belaunde (1992) take the relationship of gender and relations of production and consumption a step further in their concern with the production of persons amongst the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba, the Cashinahua and the Airo Pai respectively. All three authors emphasize gender conjugality in

10See also Goldman's remarks (1963:pp.120-121) upon the complementarity and reciprocity marking both relationships between Cubeo brothers and sisters and between husbands and wives.
their particular analyses of the production of persons through relations of production and consumption. As McCallum states, 'Production and consumption of things is tightly linked to the consumption of and production of persons, and all moments in the process are based upon dynamic male-female complementarity' (1989:19). Each process according to McCallum is gendered and only made possible with the help of other gendered processes.

Overing Kaplan (1984b) recognized the underlying importance of a proper mixing of people and things that are different from one another, for successful social reproduction for a variety of Amazonian peoples. It is also relevant to extend this observation to relations of gender. The works cited above all recognize that successful economic production and social reproduction depend upon a proper mixing of gendered difference. I will illustrate below ways in which Tsimanes also make a linkage between gender complementarity and the creation of appropriate sociality. The Tsimanes however, do not present similarities in their notions of community. Most of the authors cited above relate a creation of persons to one of community for the peoples concerned. Although I suggest that gendered complementarity is a desirable and necessary aspect of marriage and of social relations at large, it would be inappropriate to extend these ideas to ones of a creation of a community of resident kin through mutual feeding and relations of caring. The stress here for the Tsimanes is upon the creation of forms of sociality which are both experienced and enjoyed in moments of co-residence and along more disparate strands of a kindred network. These forms both come together and separate in a constant oscillating process which as I have argued is in itself centrally constitutive of correct Tsimane sociality.

A consideration of Tsimane gender relations and the way in which they organize relations of production and consumption and, in turn, create differing forms of sociality leads to an understanding of gender equality amongst the Tsimanes. I aim to illustrate that although persons and their productive activities are gendered, such a process in no way infers an associated hierarchy of values. Neither male or female work is perceived as lying at the periphery or centre of Tsimane social life. Both are essential for appropriate social living and their intertwining complementarity is crucial as part of the processual achievement of this.

* 

It is usually only married couples who clear gardens (either whilst still living in the household of their parents(in-law) or as they begin to build a separate house apart). There are

\footnote{See also Viveiros de Castro (1992:190) writing on the social world of the Arawaté which also depends for its existence upon the proper mixing of male and female domains.}
occasional exceptions to this pattern. Whilst unmarried children most often work alongside their parents, some enterprising individuals begin to grow their own crops prior to marriage. Mateo Canchi was one such young man who still lived with his parents, had not yet married, but had industriously cleared two hectares of gardens which he planted with rice. He was much admired for his hard working nature and compared to other, much more lazy, dependent people. Despite this admiration however, young unmarried men are not particularly encouraged into producing alone. In the rare case of Mateo, it is worth considering that rice is primarily grown as a cash crop amongst the Tsimanes, although a small portion of the crop is usually consumed. Most of Mateo's rice was to be sold to the Catholic priest at the Mission Fátima and a small amount was to be contributed to his parents' household.

The number of gardens 'owned' by a married couple is usually indicative of their establishment in a given settlement or of a gradually slowing down in their oscillating movements, characteristic of the earlier years of their relationship. Young married couples who tend to live and work between at least two sets of kinspeople, usually have one hectare in each settlement. They grow different produce in each, so being able to straddle their productive as well as their social time between sets of kin and affines. On average, a new garden is cleared every year and depending on the condition of the soil, old gardens are either abandoned to secondary growth and provide frequented hunting grounds or are replanted with a different crop (see Piland 1991). Older, established couples usually have between four and six active gardens.

Garden clearance involves the felling of what is usually primary forest and is carried out in mid-dry season in July and August. The trees are left to lie and are burnt at the end of the dry season. Larger logs which do not burn supply the household with an abundant source of easy firewood. Fathers and co-resident unmarried sons tend to carry out this part of the gardening process although if a particularly large garden is to be cleared, married sons and sons-in-law living either in the household of their parents(in-law) or close by may be called upon to help. In one case of an extra large rice crop belonging to Pascual and his two wives Riboria and Delmira at Yucumo, the help of about twenty five people from Yucumo (all related to Pascual as children (in-law) and grandchildren) was called upon for the lengthy task of rice harvesting. Food and drink were provided to all those who helped and many people laughingly stuffed bundles of rice into their own bags for private consumption. This was the only time I witnessed garden work on such a communal scale, for usually garden work is confined to a married couple and their co-resident children. Constant clearing and

---

12See ahead for discussion of ownership of gardens and produce.
13Average garden size is 1 hectare. See also Pérez Diez 1983.
14Large gardens are becoming more common in settlements near to the town San Borja where rice crops of ever increasing size are sold or exchanged.
weeding is required after the heavy felling work is completed and is carried out with machetes by both men and women. Once all the debris is dry, men and women, usually together, burn it.

The principal crops in terms of quantity for the Tsimanes are plantains, sweet manioc, rice and maize but these are interspersed with a wide variety of smaller crops which supplement their staple diet such as peanuts, chilli peppers, sweet potatoes, water melons and avocado pears as but a few examples. Plantains are planted and harvested upon demand all the year round and plantain gardens may take the form of scattered palms lying close to the house along with other fruit trees, medicinal plants, cotton and chilli pepper bushes, or may occupy their own larger plot as a single crop. Plantains are planted and harvested by both men and women.

Rice and maize, usually constituting the largest crops in spatial terms are planted and interspersed in the same garden at the end of the dry season in October. Children of all ages help their parents with the planting and are encouraged to plant their own small plots of rice and maize. Both crops are harvested in the wet season, usually in February and March. Rice and maize crops require constant vigilance and weeding compared to plantains and manioc. These latter crops also need caring for in the form of sporadic weeding until ready for harvesting, usually eight months to a year after planting. Rice harvesting in particular is considered hard work and is usually to the end of entering the market economy. A successful rice harvest may buy a family a shot gun for example.

Whilst all the crops mentioned above are associated with a complementary interaction of male and female work, manioc is considered primarily as a female domain and is planted almost exclusively for beer production. The Tsimanes do not cultivate bitter manioc and manioc preparation is therefore a much simpler, shorter process than that described in most ethnographies for the bitter varieties. Again husbands are expected to clear a garden for their wives' manioc crops and the main reason given by women for not making their own beer is that their husbands had not yet cleared space for them. It is usually women who bury short sections of manioc stalks in shallow earth and who harvest the tubers when required during the year.

An interesting case of a woman clearing her own garden is that of Asunta Lero, a young, married woman with two young children at Ocuña. She illustrates the possible flexibility of the system described above. Asunta lived in her own house next to that of her parents and sister. Her husband Espírito had been working all year for river tradesmen and had hardly returned home to see his wife or their children. Asunta decided that she would have to be independent in this situation, and she set to clear her own garden alone. When I arrived she had her own plantains, manioc and maize and although she was usually invited to eat with
her parents, had her own hearth and would also prepare her own food and beer separately for herself and her children. Asunta was widely talked about in settlements far from Ocuña and strongly admired for her strength and independance. Alternatively, at Pachene, Lorencia Lero was virtually immobilized by what appeared to be severe rheumatism. Her husband and young co-resident son not only cleared a new garden but harvested Lorencia's manioc and brought it back to the house for her to prepare beer. Her husband also helped her prepare the manioc for fermentation.

The main point arising from these two examples is that men and women's work is not only considered interchangeable in a theoretical sense but both men and women take pride in actually performing tasks apparently designated to their partners. Most men are particularly keen to tell of their own excellent cooking capabilities and how much they enjoy cooking. There is no sense of degradation on either side if circumstances deem necessary a conversion of roles. What is stressed as important and indeed praised, is that men and women know how to do things well and that they help each other efficiently. The work of either enables and complements the work of the other.

After travelling and hunting widely with the Tsimanes through unowned spaces, the concept of transformed, possessed garden space becomes quite striking. There are no particular rights over areas of forest for garden clearance but once a spot is decided upon by a married couple, it is theirs and they automatically become the owner of it and its produce. I was often surprised by the detailed memory and knowledge of both resident and passing others of the ownership of particular cultivated plots of land encountered along the river or deeper into the forest. It is only coffee and fruit trees however which outlast the presence and care of their owners. Even after the remnants of an abandoned house have decayed, groves of orange and grapefruit trees remain as evidence of the previous dwelling and work of their owners who are always remembered by passing or resident others. The owners usually return to exploit their vestigial crops and express considerable irritation upon realizing that their crops have been tampered with or stolen.

I have previously referred to the careful seasonal juggling and planning of mobile couples who have gardens in at least two locations. Most often their juggling is successful and economic and social expectations are satisfied. However, several cases of abandoned crops were revealed to me. It was particularly surprising to note an especially large plantain garden at Fátima with endless bunches of plantains rotting on the ground. The owner couple had moved down river unexpectedly and had not considered the plantains and their previous work invested in them as reason enough to return. Certain families took bunches for their own consumption but never openly. These plantains belonged to their owners and were usually left as such.
The ownership of plantains becomes particularly manifest upon consumption. Although a large pot of rice or plantain porridge is normally boiled up with meat or fish and served out to all members of a household or cluster of households, plantains are individually owned, baked and tended in the embers of the fire. This was brought home to me on a particular hunting trip when we sat down for the first meal. I was given a plate of meat and rice but realized that as I had not carried my 'own' plantains in my bag, unless I made an unpleasant fuss I would not be offered any. When I asked on this occasion for a plantain to bake for myself, I was told that everyone had brought their own.

The typical and most common dish eaten by the Tsimanes is *jo'na*, a thick soup made of meat or fish boiled up with a porridge of green plantain or sometimes rice. The consumption of *jo'na* may be described as a relatively formal affair. The timing of such meals varies between households but the norm would be to gather around a pot together at least once a day and sometimes twice. Informal, independent eating continues throughout the day as men and women bake themselves plantains or as young children bake themselves small fish and birds they have caught. Thus both formal and informal eating patterns occur throughout the day.

When a pot of *jo'na* is cooked, all members of a household, (sometimes the members of households of a cluster and occasional close, visiting kinspeople) are called loudly *'sëcsija'* - let's eat. Everyone clusters around the pot, either eating directly from it or serving themselves a plateful apart. Occasionally the cook, invariably the mother but sometimes an older resident daughter(in-law) actually serves platefuls out to certain household members. A plate of *jo'na* is ideally accompanied with several baked green or ripe plantains which are carefully watched and turned in the embers. Men and women sit around the house usually on palm mats or raised platforms and eat the food. Spatial organization is not formalized and men and women may sit together or apart.

Whilst much of Amazonian ethnography (Goldman 1963, Overing 1989, Viveiros de Castro 1992, Belaunde 1992) describes the mutual feeding and commensality between community members beyond the household, the Tsimanes restrict patterns of feeding to within households or between households of a cluster.

I was surprised when even during the large scale festivities organized at Yucumo for 'Mother's Day', food was not shared between households. Members of all the households of Yucumo and even beyond, gathered and camped around the school building and football pitch, members of each household or cluster of households forming its own hearth. Food was prepared on each hearth and eaten by the household members only. Most households had also brought large beer containers however and the beer was generously shared between not members of a household but between all households.
Viveiros de Castro (1992) speaks of the 'gastronomic rounds' of the Araweté in the evening following the return of the hunters to the community. When food is scarce, it is usually shared inside the house between spouses. The most common form of commensality occurs however on household patios where several families congregate and eat from each others' pots. Occasions when food is offered to the gods and the dead are those of maximum commensality. 'In these feasts, practically everyone eats in all the patios or from all the family pots. This total integration of the village, characteristically occurring through serial visiting to different patios, is what defines them as ceremonies'(p.106). Again, akin to Belaunde, Viveiros de Castro prefers to speak of Araweté commensality in terms of mutuality, 'The Araweté do not elaborate structures of food exchange in order to mark social positions and relations. Here, as in other domains, the ideology of mutuality (and the requirement of competition) prevails over the fact of reciprocity (and the requirement of cooperation). The typical form of repetition -eating the same thing from house to house - prevails over any metaphorical complementarity' (p.107).

The most striking contrast to be drawn between the above examples and Tsimane commensality lies in the fact that kindred groups are dispersed and do not co-reside in recognizable, bounded communities. Most settlements consist of a cluster of two to three households within which cooked food is commonly (but not always) shared. In more agglomerated settlements, again formal food sharing is normally restricted to households of a cluster but may sometimes be offered to visiting kin from a nearby cluster.

In the 'centre' of Yucumo Boca is Pascual Viye's house(s) (see Map3). As I have explained elsewhere, he is a pivotal figure in Yucumo in that he is related to all households as a father (in-law) or brother (in-law) or grandfather. He has two houses and lives in one of these with his wife Riboria and his young unmarried son. His other house is lived in by his other wife Delmira and her youngest daughter. Pascual does not actually 'live' with Delmira and clearly spends more time and usually sleeps and eats with Riboria but he frequents Delmira's house daily and eats there at least once every day. The two houses are about fifty metres apart and near the school and are the centre of intense social activity of Yucumo. Sons and daughters (in-law) of Pascual constantly pass by. Usually if there is any beer present, it is offered freely to any visitor but food sharing is limited to between those living in either of Pascual's household. This is not to say that food is never offered to a visitor from outside the household but that it is not commonplace. Food was never prepared because of the arrival of a visitor and invariably if food was being consumed by the members of the household, visitors would politely hang around, perhaps drinking beer, until they had finished. On rare occasions Pascual or one of his wives would offer a visitor a plate of food but usually the members of the household would huddle together close to the hearth in the enclosed, dark
The dark, closed and smoky atmosphere of Pascual's kitchen somehow added to what I often perceived to be a somewhat surreptitious feeling surrounding household food consumption. There is rarely anything free and open about eating except in situations involving only household members and welcome kinspeople.

Food sharing between households of a cluster often takes the form described above for a formal meal and members of the different households gather together around one of the hearths to eat. This formalized pattern of food sharing is often interspersed with a less formal pattern of food distribution between households. Invariably at Pachene for example, Salome, living in a house about ten metres from that of her parents-in-law, would not invite them to eat around her hearth but would quietly slip plates of cooked food to her mother-in-law after finishing her own meal. In either form of food sharing, and both occur in varying combinations on a daily basis, cooked food is shared between members of households of a cluster.

The relationships of food sharing described above in a household and cluster situation are those enjoyed as most intimate and free of the threats or discomfort or danger which is understood to make communal eating so difficult. Such intimacy is not easily extended to visitors from outside the cluster and Tsimanes never related ideas of generosity to those of food sharing.

Some Amazonian ethnography even notes a commensality, not only between members of a community, but between strangers. Rivière (1969) remarks upon the Trio distrust of strangers which interestingly is softened by food offering rather than avoidance. 'The giving of food to a stranger is an accepted obligation and its denial an act of hostility. Commensalism is a mutual acceptance of strangers, and a symbol of both trust and unity' (p.50). Rivière continues further on in his book to say that, 'Strangers are feared for the sickness they bring, and because of the Trio beliefs concerning the causation of sickness, the stranger is in turn feared as a curser. This fear exists on both sides - the traveller fearing the inhabitants of an unknown village and the inhabitants fearing the powers of the strange visitor. This allows for a tradition of hospitality which, even if offered as an indication of beneficence, is in fact a prophylactic against witchcraft' (p.239). Trio ideas of hospitality and visiting strangers lie in stark contrast to those of the Tsimanes who appear to relate ideas of distrust to those of eating in a way similar to the Cubeo (Goldman 1963), 'It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner

---

15This enclosed, walled kitchen is not common amongst the Tsimanes. The hearth is usually open and at one end of the main house.

16See further discussion below about respective dangers attributed to food and beer both in relation to their very substance and to the processes and relations of production.
eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them' (p.81).

The positive definition of the closeness and safety enjoyed by Tsimane co-residents, by implication defines those social relations which lie beyond the co-resident unit, and in so doing, underlines the differing forms of sociality described above. Food sharing for the Tsimane does not illustrate metaphorically or literally the creation of a community of kinspeople as discussed by most of the authors forementioned whereby all members of community are subsumed in a social atmosphere of intimacy through mutual feeding. Instead it defines a form of sociality based upon the smallest unit of co-residence; the household or cluster and excludes that which lies beyond its boundaries. An extension of this commensality beyond the momentarily gathered co-resident unit, I have suggested, is contingent upon appropriate mood and atmosphere. Such situations furthermore are particularly vulnerable to abrupt change.

Examples provided in chapter five illustrate ways in which embarrassment or timidity - *tsćadye'* - are crucial in defining food sharing possibilities. Any atmosphere of intimacy or comfort is likely to be restricted by *tsćadye'*- laden situations. Preparing and eating food, it seems, places people in a particularly vulnerable situation and is only felt possible in contexts devoid of danger. Occasionally, this situation would be taken to a literal extreme and I would be warned, for example, not to eat food given to me by 'upriver people' because they were known to poison it. The case of the Tayo brothers provided in chapter five however, illustrates in a less literal sense the way in which food consumption is associated with a carefully defined sphere of safety entirely contingent upon atmosphere and not necessarily upon given relations of kinship. There is more to this issue therefore than the convenience or inconvenience of geography and social morphology. Again we see that one of the most salient aspects of Tsimane social organization, in contrast with other Amazonian peoples, is the concern to create varying forms of sociality and not community in a physical sense of the word.

Following a discussion of beer distribution and consumption I will explore possible reasons behind the problematic of food sharing, correlating these with ideas of what is incorporated into food and what food is perceived to do for the consumer.

---

17 It is actually confusing to speak in terms of boundaries of co-resident units. I discussed the fluidity and flux of patterns of co-residence and household membership in chapters three and four. However during the time actually co-resident, a sense of boundaries and patterns of food sharing restricted within these may be discerned.
The difference between the nature of food distribution described above and that of beer
distribution is marked and illustrates an ambiguity between varying forms of sociality.
Whilst I have suggested that food preparation, sharing and consumption is social in a
restricted sense, beer consumption is socially embracing and inclusive and illustrates a kind
of desired sociality of extended intimacy. This is only made possible by the very presence of
beer. As many Tsimanes express, there is little point to visiting close kin in an absence of
beer.

I have described above the essentially female domain of sweet manioc production. Sweet
manioc is the principal ingredient of most kinds of fermented beer and depending on the
recipe, may be combined with sweet, ripened plantains, slightly sour toro plantains, and/or
maize. Occasionally beer is made from maize alone but less often, and it is the mixture of the
maize with manioc which is believed to ferment into the most desirable, strong beer
necessary for extended bouts of socializing.

Manioc required for beer production is brought back from the gardens by men and women
together or separately and any surplus tubers dug up are individually baked on the fire and
the floury white flesh scraped off and eaten in layers. The manioc for beer is peeled,
chopped and boiled in a huge pan and then left to cool until sufficiently cold for chewing.
Often this initial stage in the process of manioc preparation is carried out by family members
all together or by visiting women. It is common for female kin from neighbouring
households or clusters, especially sisters and sisters-in-law to gather together and prepare
manioc and talk, laugh and exchange gossip in the process. As I mentioned above, in the
case of Serafin at Pachene, men may also, especially in the absence of female kin, help with
this stage of manioc preparation.

The woman who owns the manioc and the beer chews and spits out part of the boiled
manioc, but occasionally more than one woman will chew and mix her saliva into the mass
of manioc. One Christmas at Cosincho, a particularly large quantity of beer was being
prepared at Francisca’s house and six women all clustered around together and chewed from
and spat into the same pot. This kind of communal jasi (the process described) is rare
however. When I began to help Lorencia at Pachen with the jasi process, her husband
became quite irritated and said that each woman should make her own beer if it were to
ferment well. He was pleased to then see me produce my own beer and appeared content
to drink it. The semi-chewed mass is left for two to three days and then filtered through a
finely woven sieve along with boiled plantains or ground and boiled maize (also partly
chewed) and extra water, into an uduj - a palm casing vat. The sweet beer is then left,
usually on a raised platform, covered with plantain leaves until it reaches the required

\[18\] Of course his reaction was in part related to the fact that I was a brinca - white woman.
strength for drinking. The sweet beer is also drunk within the household and offered to passing travellers. It is only strong beer however, which retains people to socialize for extended periods of time, and stops them from moving on.

The beer is usually served into gourds by the owner woman, but in her absence any other member of a household may serve the beer to household members or passing visitors. On one occasion at Pachene, Lorencia and her husband had left into the forest to gather more palm casing for new beer vats. In their absence their three sons arrived from down river as they had heard their mother was going to make three or four vats of beer. They saw me and immediately said they were thirsty. I said that there was lots of beer to drink but that Lorencia had not yet returned. They laughed and suggested then that I should serve them and that of course it would not anger their mother for me to serve their beer.

The gradually changing atmosphere from one of virtual formality to raucous intimacy during beer drinking sessions has been described in some detail in chapter two. I explained that beer is freely offered between households of a cluster, to kinspeople of nearby clusters, to visiting kin from distant settlements and finally, is sometimes offered to passing travellers whether they be kin or not. This liberal distributing of beer and communal drinking atmosphere described are entirely absent in situations of food sharing.

Generosity or meanness were only ever mentioned with reference to beer distribution and never to food. If beer is present in a house, visitors even ask for a gourd full whilst demanding food in such a manner would be unthought of. Another example further illustrates the socially embracing nature of beer distribution. After a hunting expedition, we returned to Yucumo with a small amount of badly smoked meat. The women waiting back at the settlement had been busily preparing beer for the return of their hungry, thirsty men. Upon arrival, the men went to their individual households and handed over the meat to their mothers, sisters or wives who quickly prepared it and cooked some for immediate consumption for the household members. Almost immediately after eating within the confines of their houses, the men left 'in search of beer' - *shocdye' quevaqui*, and continued with or without their wives, from house to house until all the beer had been drunk. To eat they returned to their own households and then back again to a known supply of beer.

Tsimane discourse about beer drinking and socializing with beer is explicit. As I mentioned above, most people rarely consider the possibility of visiting kin unless they are sure of a supply of strong beer. Men and women say that as they drink, they gradually lose their *tścadye'* - their socially restricting embarrassment - and feel more comfortable to talk, sing, joke and make music. Several songs I heard sung by women in particular are about the fact that in ancient times Tsimanes did not suffer from *tścadye'* and would openly dance and
sing with others without fear or shame. Today however, so they sing, beer is necessary for this unveiling of social intimacies.

I suggested in chapter two that such a release of the normal social avoidances and tensions rests partly in the physical effects of alcohol, but that this alone was not enough to explain this radically different form of socializing. Combined with the physical effects of communally consumed alcohol is the excitement of being close to kin perhaps not seen for a while and of intensely sharing knowledge and intimacies during these periods. Drinking sessions are perhaps not perceived as uncomfortable, impinging or imposing because everyone present knows that upon the drying up of the beer, the visitors will leave immediately. I was often surprised by the abrupt decision to leave after emptying the final gourd of beer. Instead of such a move being understood as socially offensive, it is desirable. Social interaction between households, clusters and distant settlements is enjoyed and sought after in a context of beer. It is intense during the drinking of the beer and an extreme sense of closeness and sharing of knowledge and bodily contact appear only possible in these situations. However, the simultaneously desired dispersion, autonomy and conflict free situations devoid of impinging people and emotions are reinstated when the beer has finished.

I suggest that beer drinking provides the safest form of socializing for the Tsimanes. The fluidity and mobility stressed throughout the thesis come to a halt in the almost removed, trance like contexts of intense beer drinking and an extreme state of immobility falls upon those drinking together. It is in this state of immobility, that a necessary sharing of bodily contact, of social presence and knowledge takes place. But as Tsimanes say, if there is no beer, there is no point in stopping. Stopping without beer would be imposing, uncomfortable and entirely undesirable and perhaps even dangerous. Whilst beer is flowing, the drinkers call upon others to stop and join them and entreat them to stay until the beer has finished. Again, the difference between this socially encompassing kind of situation from the restricted definition of social boundaries in food sharing situations is clear.

In considering further ramifications of this discourse upon beer drinking, issues of nurturance and danger again rise to the surface and present a possible conundrum somewhat difficult to unravel and about which the Tsimanes themselves offered scarce exegesis.

Chapter six explored the potential dangers navigated in the processes culminating in successful meat production. Meat itself was rarely if ever spoken of as carrying and propelling powers of sorcery itself. Beer, by contrast will be shown in chapter eight to be the prime substance for direct sorcery transmission. Similarly, the processes leading to beer production involve a careful negotiation of dangerous forces whereby the implications of the presence of the producer herself are a particularly influential factor.
It seems that what may be drawn from a comparison of meat and beer production is that both processes and creations involve painstaking negotiations by the producers. Both incorporate the implications of their presence and that of non-human agency which may permeate the substances themselves. Such an incorporation may be life generating or life depleting (see chapter eight). I find it difficult thereby to correlate intrinsic differences in process, agency and substance in beer and meat production to the differing forms of sociality described.

Despite an awareness of the potential dangers present in both meat and beer (and in the presence of the producers), I suggest that it is not these factors which explain differing contributions of food and drink to Tsimane sociality. What was remarked upon by the Tsimanes in relation to eating preferences and etiquette were less the meat or fish consumed but more the atmosphere manifest between those present. Chapter five explores the way in which descriptions of such atmospheres are constructed around perceptions of anger and embarrassment. It is precisely in beer drinking situations that underlying potentials for anger and embarrassment are gradually and temporarily subsumed by a close, shared intimacy between all those drinking.

Tsimanes did express constant concern with the processes of production of both meat and beer - the safe and careful production of which depends on appropriate socializing and presence of the producer. Nevertheless, and perhaps more pertinent here, are the examples I provide of ideas and practices relating to food consumption. These illustrate a clear concern with the kind of presence of those eating together. A discourse on beer consumption is entirely different and stresses the capacity of beer drinking to dissolve the threatening presence of anger and embarrassment and to create an atmosphere of close warmth, safety and intimacy.

The major issue which I am able to draw from these similarities and differences rests on the fact that when beer dries up, the non-residents or visitors rapidly disperse. Those who eat together however, do not disperse upon finishing the pan of food and are likely to remain living together for varying periods of time. I suggest thereby that beer drinking is not intrinsically safe; beer and the people present do transmit sorcery. However beer drinking I argue, constructs a temporary illusion of safety and intimacy between the drinkers. Such an appearance is desirable and necessary as the Tsimanes love to socialize more widely when appropriate and if they feel safe. Beer drinking creates an apparition of safety which dissolves upon the drying up of the beer vats. It creates a temporary neutrality enabling the

---

19 Furthermore, guardian spirits are said to enjoy their observations of Tsimanes socializing successfully in both ways mentioned. They are appeased in particular by the human consumption of abundant meat and also by the singing, talking and occasional dancing which accompanies beer drinking.
extension of affective social relations. This is all the more necessary when considering the isolation and distance between certain settlements.

Food sharing, by contrast, does not create illusion and rests instead upon a 'real' intimacy and safety felt and created between co-residents. These conditions of safety are not fixed however and instead depend on mood and atmosphere between co-residents. Rather than masking dangerous potential with an illusory quality of intimate amity, co-resident Tsimanes recognize the need to move away from danger upon its unveiling and threat to preferred states of sociality. Understanding the possibilities of illusion inherent in relationships of co-residence (see Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995 and Rivière 1995), they thereby avoid the prevarications of pretending their social relations are safe, and move away (see Thomas 1982). Beer while present, allows for the pretence or illusion to last. If it did not, non co-residents would never be able to socialize.

*As I have stressed, it is only married Tsimanes who embark upon house building and garden clearing. A crucial aspect of the productive processes described above is the dynamic complementarity between male and female labour, manifest and enacted most clearly in the husband/wife relationship.

Amongst the Tsimanes, notions of gender are inextricably linked to those of the acquisition of appropriate knowledge. The successful accomplishment of gendered tasks is essential to a happy marriage and to the wider relationships of social life at large. I will illustrate that whilst certain domains, hunting and beer production for example, are considered predominantly male or female, they are not gender exclusive. Furthermore no hierarchical scheme of values is attributed to either domain, and the respective gendered roles involved in the successful production and the accomplishment of forms of sociality lie side by side in a relationship of mutual interdependency.

When asked about the specificity of gendered tasks, most Tsimanes were loathe to label spheres of activity as men's or women's work. Whilst suggesting that men were better at some things than women and vice versa, both men and women were always keen to stress the flexibility of task gendering. I was even told that all Tsimane women had access to hunting knowledge and capabilities whilst men in distant parts, were known to weave. Most interesting however is the way in which many Tsimanes drew upon a discourse on laziness - to'oty, to'os (adj.)\textsuperscript{20} - to describe gender attributes and the level of knowledge and acquired capabilities of men and women in their tasks. The only thing that usually prevented men from learning how to weave or women to hunt was their laziness.

\textsuperscript{20}There seems to be no noun for laziness. Instead people and animals would be described as lazy.
Talk about laziness and the combat of laziness to successfully accomplish tasks was constant. Individuals controlled their own personal laziness by the taking of remedies - *piñidye' to'otydyes*. A number of substances such as *Isatri* (amber), already referred to with respect to hunting, are both ingested by men and rubbed into their eyes to aid vision in hunting and navigation through the forest. Women take other 'medicines' to improve their vision for weaving skills. These are but two examples of acquired skills which are considered necessary for successful production and marital relations.

It is interesting to note that it is only individuals who take combative action against their own laziness. Again the value placed upon individual autonomy and responsibility for one's own actions is clear. No Tsimane would attempt to actively counter the laziness of another and as I will show below, may only indirectly complain or jokingly banter about the apathy and associated ineptitudes of others. The only action taken against the laziness of another, especially a spouse, is again the individual decision to move away from it.

Both men and women assert themselves therefore, and personally take a certain measure of control over the mastery of tasks as they actively seek aid to combat or control languor. These tasks are ultimately understood to lie beyond the confines of gendered specificity and men and women are proud to step outside suggested roles and are admired for doing so.

It was during a joking situation involving myself that I was most clearly introduced to a discourse on the gendering of tasks and of the expectations and demands which rally to and fro between lovers and husbands and wives. The incident occurred after several gourds full of strongly fermented beer in the household of Santiago Viye at Yucumo Boca one evening. I have previously mentioned the somewhat sad and lonely figure of Revonsio Cunai whose wife had died two years before. This particular evening he and his brother-in-law Santiago were telling me of his grief and loneliness and how he really wanted and needed a woman. As a joke I have previously mentioned, Santiago decided to call me 'sister' - *voji* so that I would automatically fall into the correct marriageable category as a wife for Revonsio. Revonsio laughed and replied that I was a useless, lazy woman as I did not know how to prepare and smoke game properly, I did not know how to cook or make beer and finally I did not know how to have sex as I apparently had no lover at this time. *'Jam jäm' mo', to'os mo'. Jam chí' munaqui, jam chí' jaftaquí, jam chí' mo' jejmíti, jam chí' jäsí - to'os mo', jam chí' ne'maqui, itši vo'vo'dye' mo"*. As forementioned, this burst of insults about my inabilities to produce and to be a good wife was interspersed with reference to my extreme laziness. It was my laziness which prevented my acquisition of this productive, gendered knowledge accessible to everyone. All the women present burst into raucous laughter and gathered around me encouraging me with appropriate retorts to Revonsio's joking onslaught. 'Tell him he's lazy, tell him he does not know how to find and bring game and fish back to the house, he does not know how to clear gardens. Tell him he
does not know how to make uduj (palm casing beer vats). Tell him he's lazy and no good', 'Mi ra jete - 'To'oty mi', mi ra jete 'Jam chij dåräij mi, jam chij vonej tui' mi, jam chij uduj jäm'taqui, jam chij quijoij mi. Jam jäm' mi, to'oty mi'.

Thomas (1982) also stresses the importance the Pemón place upon the proficiency of gendered subsistence tasks, emphasizing the importance of the marital unit as being economically viable, 'The importance of economic viability for the new couple cannot be overemphasized. Present day informants relate that formerly a long series of protesting interchanges prior to marriage went on between the parents of the betrothed. Parents of the female customarily protested that she was, though nubile, not sufficiently steeped in the practice of household tasks, work in the fields, and the making of manioc beer. Parents of the male suggested that, though he was ready for marriage, he was not sufficiently proficient in the hunting, fishing and building tasks that make up the male subsistence rule' (p.100).

He also describes a bantering session between a sister and her brother's wife and her brothers following a male contribution of meat after a three day hunt. The groups of men and women jokingly argued about the respective values of male provided meat and female produced manioc, eventually agreeing that no meal was properly complete without both meat or fish and manioc cakes.

The bantering I described above concerning my capabilities was much enjoyed by all present and clearly expresses ideas relating to the expectations of married life and to successful social living at large. In this situation, such banter was good humoured and joking but I often heard severe complaining both by men and women of their partners. For them it was the laziness of a partner and the associated lack of knowledge and ability to do their work well which was taken as reason enough to 'throw them out' - jitupete ra yu 21.

On one occasion, a forlorn Carmelo Viye accompanied Pancho, Germán and me on a down river trip from his home Yucumo Boca as far as Pampita (one day journey). His wife Isabel had 'escaped'-ca'joi'- and had gone back to live with her mother, taking with her their two young children. The reason she gave for her escape was that Carmelo was lazy and did not hunt and garden properly22. He took on his journey to retrieve his wife a bag of smoked tapir meat from a tapir he himself had killed. He and his companions reckoned that such an offering would suffice to persuade his wife to return to Yucumo to live with him. In fact, this time it did not and we picked Carmelo up alone on our return up river journey a few days later. Isabel was truly 'angry' and did not want to return. Upon further persuasion and evidence of a hard working and caring husband, she did return several weeks later.

21 Rather than actually throwing a spouse out, temporary separation or more permanent divorce is activated by one or other of the couple (most probably he or she who is living with affines) moving away and back to his or her own parents or siblings.

22 Carmelo probably had problems with efficiently allocating his time to the work expected of him because he was also a school teacher at Yucumo.
In a separate household at Yucumo, it was a grandmother Lorencia who angrily denounced the laziness and frivolous attitudes of her son, Fermiliano, to me. She almost cried as she told of how his son (her grandson) constantly cried 'from hunger' because his father was too lazy and too busy chasing women to clear his own garden, hunt and fish, and so rarely provided enough food for his family. She fully sympathized with Delmira, Fermiliano's wife for being 'angry' and for threatening to leave him. What could be worse than a husband who failed to provide for his children and wife23.

Gow (1989), speaking of the peoples of the Bajo Urubamba discusses how it is only the husband-wife relationship which can be understood as a relationship of demand. Only husbands and wives and lovers can expressly demand food or sex of each other, whilst other relationships are marked by tolerance and respect. 'Men demand of their wives that they harvest plantains and manioc, that they cook, that they make manioc beer and that they satisfy their sexual desire. Women demand of men that they clear gardens, hunt and fish and satisfy their sexual desire. Failure on the part of one partner to satisfy the demands of the other leads to retaliation...serious negligence leads to abandonment, which is tantamount to divorce in this society'(1989:573). It also appears that amongst the Tsimanes only husbands and wives can directly demand things of one another and can complain directly to a partner of their 'laziness'. Others indirectly or directly affected by the situation can only vent their criticism indirectly. Fermiliano's mother Lorencia complained bitterly to me and his sisters about his behaviour and occasionally threw suggestive insults at him (which made him laugh), but only Delmira, his wife was able to demand food from him and only she could take the direct action of leaving him.

In a slightly different situation at Fátima, a mother-in-law criticized the marital capabilities of her daughter-in-law while condoning the wandering, promiscuous behaviour of Gerardo, her son. Her daughter-in-law Barbarita was apparently sad and lonely as Gerardo frequently left her and had affairs with other women. Barbarita's mother-in-law felt that his behaviour was warranted as Barbarita was not behaving appropriately as a wife. She was lazy, did not know how to help and work properly, did not know how to plant and harvest in the gardens, did not know how to make beer and barely knew how to cook. Barbarita's mother-in-law put this enormous lack in her knowledge and capabilities as a wife down to the fact that she had married too young and that her own mother had not taught her properly every thing she needed to be a good wife. Maria, Barbarita's mother-in-law, would frequently complain about Barbarita in her absence but never to her face. She never insisted upon her help in the garden for example, or that she cooked. Only Gerardo, her husband would be able to take on that role.

23Fermiliano was also a school teacher at Yucumo.
It is interesting to note Belaunde's (1992) observation that only after marriage Airo Pai men and women acquire gendered knowledge and capabilities, and that it is invariably the mother-in-law who teaches her daughter-in-law all that needs to be known. These comments about Barbarita suggest that in the case of girls at least, it is their mothers in the years prior to the marriages of their daughters, who teach them the required skills for successful marriage. It is true however that whilst knowledge is transmitted to boys and girls from a very young age (little girls 'help' their mothers and elder sisters to wash clothes and cut vegetables and toddler boys already run around with miniature bows and arrows which they aim on lizards and small birds), gendered knowledge is only fully mastered and implemented in the context of marriage.

Concern and interest in the knowledge and capabilities of others were frequently expressed especially between Tsimane women. If I ever went hunting or fishing with a family other than the one I was living with or simply visited other families, I would usually, upon my return, confront a virtual interrogation by the women present about the activities of the other women. I was often surprised at the detail of questioning of the way tasks were carried out when I perceived that all women and men gutted a fish for example, in exactly the same way with exactly the same aptitude. Often such questioning would take the form of 'I bet she didn't know how to prepare the meat properly' for example, and the woman asking would be keen for me to criticize the capacities of others and would immediately circulate any piece of information I relayed.

This Tsimane open concern with the capabilities of others I suggest, is associated with the notion that the presence and intention of persons are incorporated into their products. Substances such as food and drink which are to be shared, are possibly permeated with danger and potential for sorcery. Such criticism again defines the distrust felt between non co-residents, an uncertainty which renders the sharing of food so problematic and is masked temporarily by the sharing of beer.

On one hunting expedition, Lorencia Viye and I were both crouched on the edge of a small stream in the hills behind Yucumo, cleaning out the stomachs and intestines of numerous monkeys recently brought back by the hunters. A thin stick had to be inserted into the intestines and pulled back so as to turn the intestines inside-out. They were then vigorously washed with water. Lorencia had to patiently show me how to carry out this task properly and she remarked upon the fact that as I had previously been on a hunting expedition with another family from Yucumo, I should have already learnt how to vo'coij (the process described above). She put my ignorance down to the fact that Elinda, the woman present and

---

24 According to Overing (pers.comm.), the Piaroa would consider it most impolite and inappropriate to comment upon the abilities of others. Instead they displayed considerable tolerance of the ways of doing things of others.
It is perhaps relevant to note that Lorencia was often particularly critical of Elinda as were other women from Yucumo. Elinda was not Tsimane but Yuracare and it was widely acknowledged that the level of her 'Tsimane knowledge' of how to do things, including her linguistic abilities, was lacking. Because Elinda was married to the same man as Lorencia's sister she was a classificatory sister to Lorencia and lived in a cluster which lay about half an hour by foot from Lorencia's. Visiting between the two clusters was constant and it would be difficult to attribute ideas of distance and distrust relating to residence to the ensuing criticism. Whilst some cases of criticism of others may be understood in terms of distance and distrust, that revolving around Elinda lay more in the notion of her lacking 'Tsimaneness', and the appropriate gendered aspect of her 'Tsimaneness' in particular.

The above is but one example of many similar situations whereby the capabilities of others were discussed and picked apart in the minutest of detail. What men and women do and how they do it is constantly discussed in terms of laziness and levels of appropriate behaviour. It is recognized that husbands and wives each have to work well at what they do if their relationship is to be a success and if the social relations surrounding them are to be harmonious. It is only the husband or wife who may reprimand and ultimately abandon the other but the surrounding co-resident kinspeople are clearly involved in their relations.

Male and female producers then play a crucial role in the creation of appropriate forms of socializing as negotiators and producers of nurturance in the respective forms of meat and beer. Without their careful gauging of procedures of production and a mastering of their capabilities in the process, neither food nor beer would be available for sharing in either social situation described.

Having distinguished between domains I have also emphasized their lack of exclusivity. Women and men are both clearly involved in the various processes culminating in meat and beer production. Whilst male and female domains are fundamentally complementary and entirely necessary for the perpetuation of different types of social relationships, a certain conjugal co-operation within domains is also necessary. It would therefore be inaccurate to suggest that male activities propagate alone a restricted, intimate form of sociality located within the household. Similarly female activities are not perceived as solely responsible for perpetuating the other, wider form of sociality. To reiterate, both forms of sociality described
are necessary and desirable elements of Tsimane social life as a whole and neither could exist without the other.

Nevertheless by recognizing the predominantly central role of women in the creation of wider social relationships through beer production, it is necessary to compare the work and social position of Tsimane women to that described for women of other Amazonian groups. I will also discuss the implications of such comparison in a more general critique of gender analysis beyond Amazonia.

Certain Amazonian ethnographies, notably Descola's work on the Achuar (1994, 1996) and Rivière's on the peoples of the North West Amazon (1987) situate women's work, particularly that involved in bitter manioc production and preparation, as tedious, monotonous and laborious. Descola explains how, although male and female tasks are considered to carry with them equivalent risks, it is the male sphere of hunting which receives more status (1994:15). Descola believes that the Achuar correlate notions of position and prestige with levels of risk and unpredictability encountered in productive endeavours. It is for this reason that the female domain of gardens is perceived by the Achuar as being similarly permeated with danger and unpredictability as the male domain of the forest. He suggests that the Achuar, in their ideas relating to blood sucking manioc and garden magic, are creating an illusion of danger which induces women to feel less subordinated in their domestic role, 'When the Achuar represent gardening as an eminently dangerous and uncertain activity, it is as though they were seeking to establish that the paradigmatic field of female practices and that of male practices presented equivalent risks. To transform an obviously routine and typically domestic task into a hazardous undertaking in which one risks life and limb is also to preclude that hunting be given any preeminence in a system where status could be founded on ranking productive functions according to the risks entailed......As she squats day after day at her obscure task of weeding, the Achuar woman does not think of her work as inferior or her economic function as subordinate' (1994:214). It is clear from this statement that Descola himself interprets the Achuar gendered division of labour as one which situates women in a subordinated position to men; a position she is awarded by virtue of the nature of her garden work.

Rivière (1984) goes further to suggest that it is this 'routinized' nature of a woman's work which places her life under the control of her husband's group. Rivière suggests that men's work in contrast, is social, and forges important relationships beyond the conjugal unit, thus bestowing men with prestige and social position within the community. A woman's work restricts her movement and limits her relations to the conjugal unit. It is not social in nature

25The position taken by Riviere in this article about peoples of the North West Amazon does not accord with his stress upon gender conjugality in subsistence labour amongst the Trio (1969).
and it is the social relations created by men (particularly those between fathers and sons-in-law) which are understood by Rivière to be prestigious and which allow for female subordination.

For the Tsimanes, the processes of production and preparation of beer, from the clearing of gardens to the fermenting of the final product is the most time consuming activity practised by the Tsimanes. It is not, as suggested by Descola and Rivière, experienced as tedious, socially trapping and arduous but is enjoyed as an activity both between men and women and especially between women. Women take a certain pride in producing and serving their own beer. Furthermore it is clear from the above descriptions that women lie at the centre and not the periphery of the creation of social relations extending from the conjugal unit and the household. It is precisely through a result of women's labour that wider social relationships are forged or rekindled.

Viveiros de Castro (1992) suggests a relationship of female fertility to social reproduction in the production and offering of strong beer amongst the Araweté. He notes how most interpretations of strong beer feasts in Amazonia place men in a position of control whereby 'men capture the natural reproductive power of women' (p.138 and see C. Hugh Jones 1979). He believes that such is not the order of things amongst the Araweté where, 'The insemination of men by women suggests precisely the attribution of certain fecundating powers to women, thus inverting the official theory, which posits men as the sole proprietors of genetic substance, sperm. What appears to take place is a certain neutralization of, or compensation for, the differences of gender' (pp.138-9).

I find it particularly interesting to consider the role of Tsimane women in a forging of wider social relationships in terms of their powers of fertility. This becomes especially relevant when considering the incorporation of female substance and personhood into beer and the positive and negative implications this may have for social states (see fuller discussion in chapter eight). It is also relevant to note that beer festivals are renowned by the Tsimanes for encouraging and perpetuating sexual unions between those gathered. Tsimane women lie at the heart of social fertility and are not pushed to the periphery of social living as a result of their work.

On a similar note, Belaunde (1992) has convincingly shown with her detailed analysis of Airo Pai women's work, that Airo Pai women in fact stand at the centre of social life precisely because of their role as feeders. 'Given the fact that the Airo Pai conceive production as a form of bestowing care, what is produced throughout this vegetable cycle are both the plants...and the people who eat from the food made with the crops. As the Airo Pai put it, they work together so as to enable their children to 'eat and grow up strong'. As we have seen, the food shared out between the women is crucial to the creation of community as
a unit that is understood as the group of people who raise their children together' (p.184). Their bread-making and distribution endows them with power and recognition in the community as Belaunde states, 'I would argue that bread-making and cooking in general are very important activities through which women assert their power both within the conjugal unit and the community at large' (1992:178). Both women and men enjoy prestige in the community and Belaunde stresses that beyond this 'The community as a whole becomes prestigious in the eyes of the other communities because of the productive cooperation among its members'(p.207).

Outside Amazonia, the emphasis of the majority of anthropological works on gender appears to rest on ideas of a division of labour and the implications such a division has on systems of value and structures of power and prestige in a given society. Somewhat surprisingly, a bias in most of these works still sways towards insisting upon the universal subordination of women (Strathern 1987, Collier and Rosaldo 1981, Ortner and Whitehead 1981, Collier and Yanagisako (1987)). In accordance with Overing's critique of this bias (1986a), I suggest that a major problem with such works is their conflation of an understanding of 'evaluation' with that of hierarchy. Collier and Yanagisako state for example how, 'We begin with the premise that social systems are, by definition, systems of inequality....By most definitions, a society is a system of social relationships and values. Values entail evaluation. Consequently, a society is a system of social relationships in which all things and actions are not equal....Every society has a 'prestige structure', as Ortner and Whitehead (1981) presume' (1987;p.39).

In their introductory paper, Collier and Yanagisako are set upon unpacking many 'western' assumptions about gender, especially the well worn dichotomies of nature/culture and public/domestic domains. However they seem willing to leave other assumptions untouched. Towards the end of their introduction, they begin to unpack 'western' assumptions of power and prestige as can be seen in the following section, 'We may define social systems as systems of inequality, but like feminists who posit the existence of 'egalitarian societies', we recognize that our ability to understand social relations in other societies is hindered by our 'tendency to attribute to (others) the relations of power and property characteristic of our own' (see Leacock 1978:247), even as our hierarchical division of labor makes it difficult for us to imagine that men and women who do different things might nevertheless be 'separate but equal' (Sacks 1976)' (ibid:43). Nevertheless they then dilute this apparent sympathy with a questioning of relations of power to reinstate their insistence for hierarchy. 'We thus agree with feminists who posit the existence of 'egalitarian societies' that we need models capable of distinguishing among qualitatively different forms of social hierarchy'(p.43). Although recognizing the possible existence of different forms of hierarchy, the existence of social values and even different understandings of power in an absence of hierarchy is obviously not considered.
Collier and Yanagisako then continue to explain how they use the kind of model of inequality proposed by Collier and Rosaldo (1981) in their definition of 'brideservice societies'. As this article has received extensive criticism (Overing 1986a, McCallum 1989, Belaunde 1992) especially for its treatment of women's work as socially limiting and under the control of men's social relations, it is unnecessary here to offer further critique. It suffices to indicate that by using the kind of model proposed by Collier and Rosaldo for inequality, Collier and Yanagisako again reaffirm their somewhat blind insistence for an universal subordination of women without fully considering the implications provided by wider ethnographic examples of the place of women's work within a broader context of social relations. I suggest that Collier and Yanagisako's generalizations about the subordination of women and Collier and Rosaldo's model of a devaluation of women's work and position in brideservice societies are of little relevance for some 'egalitarian' societies of Amazonia.

*It is clear from a discussion of Tsimane ideas and practices relating to a gendered division of tasks and of the extension of these to a creation of differing forms of sociality, that the Tsimanes represent an extreme case of gender equality and informality within Amazonia. This becomes particularly apparent if considering various aspects of gendered formality amongst other Amazonian peoples. I mentioned an absence of gendered, spatial divisions both in terms of household architecture and in terms of the use of space for eating, drinking and sleeping. Such an informality in the gendered use of space lies in stark contrast to the spatial divisions of male and female described amongst the Gê and peoples of the North West Amazon (Maybury-Lewis (1979), Turner (1979), C. Hugh Jones (1979), S. Hugh Jones (1979)).

I discuss a muffling of affinity for the Tsimanes in contrast to a ritualized emphasis upon social difference in chapter three. Similarly here, it is apparent that gendered difference is again clouded by a Tsimane discourse upon possible and preferred merging of gendered domains. Such a discourse indicates a concern with gender equality rather than an associated hierarchy of values attributed to either gender and its capabilities.

Correct and desirable forms of sociality amongst the Tsimanes are dependent upon a successful, harmonious, flexibly gendered complementarity of tasks. This in turn is dependent upon men and women taking an individual responsibility for mastering their capabilities, a responsibility which involves a constant battle against encroaching laziness. When successful, the effective conjugality expressed particularly by the relationship of husband and wife results in the production of substances of nurturance in the forms of food.
and beer. The sharing of these products in differing social contexts plays an essential part in the very creation of forms of sociality. Both men and women are thereby responsible for creating preferred social ways of being, between the which, individuals and families oscillate in their individual search for and creation of safe and life-generating social existence.
CHAPTER EIGHT: ILLNESS AND DEATH

One of the most popular and repeated excerpts from the mythic sagas of the two creator brothers Micha' and Dojity, concerns the original creation of Tsimanes and other human and non-human beings. Whilst Tsimanes were moulded from mud, other peoples (national Bolivians, foreigners and neighbouring indigenous peoples) were carved from white balsa wood. Salomé and her mother-in-law Lorencia were discussing this mythic extract in the light of their fears of illness and death whilst they each sifted their chewed cassava and maize (jäsdye') for fermentation. Lorencia concluded their analysis by remarking that it is precisely because Tsimanes were originally made from mud and other peoples from balsa wood, that Tsimanes suffer so easily from illness and die without a cure. She followed on to explain that other peoples also died, but not she believed, as a result of illness. Other peoples only died from old age. Finally, she asked if people 'across the sea' suffered from illness or if indeed, they died at all.

I had heard varying accounts of the travels and exploits of Micha' and Dojity from a number of people but was somewhat surprised by Lorencia's interpretation of this part of the myth. Until then I had been struggling to uncover Tsimane notions of the body, of illness, and a detailed explanation of healing techniques. Again and again I confronted little interest on the part of the Tsimanes in exploring their own understandings of illness or of seeking out therapy and analysing the effects of therapy.

One Bolivian anthropologist suggested to me that all Tsimane faith in healing and in shamans had been eradicated by missionary influence as had their intimate knowledge of forest medicinal plants. Aspirins and antibiotics were now all that were of interest. I suggest however, that whilst an element of this tendency is certainly true, the feeling of impotence and apathy which besets a sick person and his or her close kin is not a reaction to missionary presence or a gradual lack of faith in pre-missionary conceptions of illness. Below I discuss ways in which ideas of anger and sorcery lie at the heart of Tsimane illness beliefs. These ideas I doubt were introduced by the

---

1 For a full account of these myths see Riester 1993, Pérez-Diez 1983 and Daillant 1994.
2 In chapter six I mention the petroglyphs near the salt lick close to the source of the Pachene river. These have been best documented by Hissink (1955). They illustrate what is described by the Tsimanes as being one man surrounded by many women which are depicted as vaginas. These carved drawings are spoken of as 'the writing of Dojity' or the 'writing of Jesucristo' depending on the context or person speaking. Most Tsimanes say that it is here, upon these rocks at Pachene, that the first Tsimanes originated through the drawing actions of their creator gods.
3 I prefer to use the term illness as disease is used in medical anthropological literature to refer to a physio-biological understanding of the process.

167
missionaries and they suggest possible ways of understanding the marked despondency revealed in situations of illness.

Talk about mud and balsa wood arose in a number of contexts and led me to consider more carefully some Tsimane ideas of corporeality. 'We all consist of the same meat' many Tsimanes often explained to me. They most often defined a notion of identity or 'we-ness' and compared it to 'otherness' in terms of their specific meat - *shush mo*. The word *shush mo* refers to animal and fish meat, human meat, and the flesh of plants such as plantains and tubers which possess an obvious 'body'. Other peoples, gringos, national Bolivians, or other indigenous peoples are each made up of a different meat - *yocsi shush mo*. It was explained that their specific 'meat' arises from the fact that the original Tsimanes were moulded from mud whilst other peoples were carved from balsa wood.

Summarized in the Tsimane remarks presented above are an array of ideas concerning their bodies, illness, death, and the control they perceive themselves to possess or lack in situations of misfortune.

* * *

The Tsimanes, as do many other Amazonian peoples (see Overing 1985, Goldman 1963, Thomas 1982) recognize the multi-faceted and apparently contradictory nature of the potencies latent in social existence. Whilst forces lying within food, drink, people, body fluids and guardian beings are necessary for the vitality and continuity of life, they are simultaneously terrifyingly predatory and dangerous. Every being in the Tsimane social world is potentially threatening. Usually described in its preliminary form as anger, danger is recognized with a nervousness verging on paranoia. When it rises to the surface, its results become starkly exposed as illness and ultimately death.

The highly undesirable conditions of illness and final death present an antithesis of a generative social life of carefully gauged conviviality. As each individual seeks to establish a desirable social existence for himself and others, he/she inevitably reflects upon the threatening presence of danger. Anger, illness and death lie not beyond the social state, but are firmly positioned within it.

Navigating a safe and productive route between the ambivalent potencies of social living is a delicate and volatile matter. People, places and beings are met and avoided in a process involving
constant juggling and careful negotiation between that which is preferred and that which is threatening for desirable and appropriate social life. When an individual is not successful in a mastering of certain stages in this process, his or her efforts may fall short. When they do, the acute vulnerability of social existence is exposed.

In considering ways in which Tsimanes deal with the different facets of their social lives, I have stressed the value they place upon the autonomy of each individual. Ultimately an individual controls his or her social manoeuvres and in so doing avoids or approaches angry or intimate situations as appropriate. Similarly, each individual is acutely aware of the threat of his or her own impingement upon others and seeks to avoid situations or places where his or her presence may be threatening.

In chapters five and six specifically, I suggested that anger weakens the intention and control required for successful social living and provides an entry for illness. One of the primary concerns of this chapter will be to discuss how situations of illness and death both lie beyond the realm of human intention and control. I suggest that it is in part because of their location, that illness and death are faced with such despondent apathy and fear.

On a similar note, Taylor (1996) explains that for the Achuar, the essence of being alive for both humans and non-humans is that of consciousness and intentionality. Being human for the Achuar, is to enter an inherently unstable state which Taylor attributes firstly to an exposure to the death of others, and secondly to the vulnerability of shifting alliances and endemic feuding. 'This pervasive uncertainty as to the real nature of others' feelings for oneself cannot fail to have consequences for the texture and foundations of selfhood' (p.207). She then continues to relate Jivaroan notions of illness to the pervasiveness of uncertainty in their lives. 'This, I would claim, is where illness comes in. Sickness in Jivaroan terms, is the suffering experienced by individuals when they become overwhelmed by the ambiguity of the social environment and thereby lose a clear sense of their identity; that is, when their perception of self is clouded by uncertainty. In fact, I would surmise that it is the high level of anxiety generated by the extreme unpredictability of social relations inherent in Jivaroan existence that explains why any affliction, regardless of its origin and apparently benign character, turns into a symptom of bewitchment...and why the relatively detailed taxonomy of pathologies that Achuar informants develop in the abstract so rapidly breaks down into a single, massive contrast between 'health' and undifferentiated suffering; that is to say, dying' (p.207). Taylor restricts her analysis of human vulnerability and anxiety in the face of shifting unpredictability to the realm of human social relationships and a human infliction of sorcery. It can be deduced however that both the Achuar and the Tsimane
value and prefer a life in which human intention and control may be asserted unhindered. Illness and subsequent death are seen to result from a loss of control. Furthermore, they add to the unpredictability and uncertainty already existing in the social world.

Certainly, for the Tsimanes, the vulnerability of the social state and human intention is exacerbated by anger. Anger regularly manifests itself as illness which permeates the individual body, more often than not, resulting in death. The permeability of the body to the agency of both nurturant and dangerous forces has previously been underlined. In turn, the body, I have argued, itself impinges and asserts influence upon its surrounding environment. Here, I wish to develop upon the negative side of corporeal presence and permeability.

As forementioned, illness and death are invariably understood as the action of external agency in the form of sorcery. Angered beings, most often non-Tsimane humans or animal and fish guardians may be provoked in a number of ways and retaliate by sending objects of sorcery in projectile form\textsuperscript{4} which enter specific parts of the body. I was often disappointed in my attempts to understand Tsimane discourse on illness and on the body. It appeared that little analysis was offered by the Tsimanes about their bodies and about the effects of the entry of foreign bodies into their own. Parts of the body hurt and made the person 'want to die' - 'maje' sāñi'.

What was developed however and constantly articulated, was analysis of the cause of the illness; who or what could have been angered and how. It seemed that what was of most importance was the preliminary avoidance of illness by circumventing potentially dangerous illness afflicting forces. Once the illness had been inflicted, a terrible sense of impotence and apathy appeared to befall the afflicted and the close kin around him or her. I was often struck by the immobility of the sick person and of others around. It was rare that a cure would be actively sought\textsuperscript{5} and instead the mood was one of waiting, of not knowing and of despair of the vulnerability and impotence of all those at the mercy of external forces. Such apathy was enshrouded in fear - 'what can we do' - 'what has brought the illness' - 'what could the illness be' - 'who or what is angry'.

\textsuperscript{4}Farajtacdye' or objects of sorcery often appear in the form of small arrows, stones, pieces of rotting wood and thorns.
\textsuperscript{5}I am not of course suggesting that cures were never sought but that active intervention through a search for therapy rarely appeared prevalent. Amongst Tsimanes living close to San Borja or within the surroundings of Fátima the Catholic Mission, medical help would be more frequently sought but even this was enshrouded with an air of suspicion and feeling that the person was going to die anyway....people enter hospital after all, to die.
Here, for the Tsimanes, it will be particularly relevant to consider the role of the body in these processes, both as receiving the positive and negative aspects of nurturance and danger, but in turn as affecting them and imposing its positive and negative presence upon the world. In considering the body as permeable to the effects of cosmic forces, it is relevant to explore the idea of the person in relation to other people, beings and places as tapping, internalizing and thus embodying forces. Nowhere is such an idea made more explicit than in the sphere of illness and death, when productive and positive relations go momentarily wrong.

* 

In a way similar to many other Amazonian peoples, Tsimanes are keen to talk about the joy and well-being associated with eating 'real' food and drinking good, well fermented maize and cassava beer (see also Gow 1989,1992). Many people expressed to me that the eating and drinking of Tsimane food and beer would facilitate my linguistic capabilities in Tsimane, and eventually transform me into a Tsimane if I lived and ate and drank with them for long enough. An older man at Yucumo repeated on several occasions that Izabelle, a French anthropologist who lived and worked with the Tsimanes before me, had arrived not knowing how to speak the Tsimane language. However, with each plate of jo'na (the typical and preferred dish of fish or meat boiled up with rice or mashed green plantains) and each gourd full of strong beer, her linguistic abilities improved until eventually she spoke 'like a Tsimane'. Conversely, many Tsimane men would proudly tell me that they grew garlic in their gardens and that they 'knew how' to eat onions and cumin and drink Bolivian bottled beer. They explained how the more adept they became at such culinary arts, the better became their spoken Spanish and abilities to interact with national Bolivians or Napo.

It is clear from the above remarks, that the Tsimanes endow correct food and drink a central role in creating Tsimane persons. Correct food and drink are produced and consumed in appropriate contexts of marriage and kinship. Healthy bodies are created in part by feeding (see also Belaunde 1992) and parents of young children constantly remark upon the hard work involved in feeding and rearing young children. Babies and children are constantly hungry and need to be fed. Most crying and complaint are taken to result from hunger and couples reprimand each other for not providing enough of the right food and drink necessary for a happy and healthy infant. When young children die, one of most common cries of distress and despair of parents and

---

7On the two occasions that I cooked with garlic, not only did the women present refuse to eat what I had cooked but they left the house and stayed 'in the forest' until what they described as the extremely strong, nauseating smell had passed.
grandparents is 'carij páñi ava'. Cui' momo' sáñi' - it is so hard, or involves so much work for a child to grow and develop, and then he or she simply dies and so easily.8

Food and drink are also a perfect medium for the transmission of illness. I have repeated that eating in socially inappropriate situations is considered uncomfortable and potentially dangerous. Food and drink embody human and non-human agency and in so doing, are capable of transmitting the powers and effects of sorcery and poisoning upon the unfortunate consumers. Again we return to the idea permeating much Amazonian thought, that the desirable and necessary conditions for social life carry with them the potential for danger and destruction. Careful recognition of and dealing with these apparently opposed facets of power and fertility make up a significant proportion of daily work and daily concerns.

Ideas of the positive, creative effects of real food are coupled with notions of distasteful culinary arts. Non-Tsimanes prefer other kinds of food and drink and their consumption of these, to some extent, defines their very difference from Tsimanes. No Tsimane would voluntarily eat raw or undercooked meat or fish or unsalted food. Such taste is dirty -a'chis, it is for others and causes illness for Tsimanes. Undesirable foods, meats in particular, but also vegetable plants are described as possessing a particularly strong, pungent smell -feryi poqui. Capybara or caiman meats are but two examples of meats not sought or eaten.

Such classification of correct and savage cuisine is not however absolute. Some people would say that whilst most Tsimanes would prefer, because of their odour, not to eat tuvvúty' fish or three toed sloth meat for example, they personally did not see a problem with it. One day, upon my first meeting Crisanto Tayo at Pachene, he asked me if I 'knew how' to eat rotting fish -focoi'si' tbedye'. I said that I did not mind if it was slightly rotten but that I would consider advanced rotten fish inedible. He replied that he felt the same but that many Tsimanes would never touch fish meat slightly rotten as it smelt so strong and would cause illness. Only Yuracaré or other peoples would actually enjoy eating rotten flesh.

The negative affects of food upon the body are most often described or explained in terms of odour (see also chapter six)9. There are other characteristics, especially spines and antlers which are believed to negatively affect pregnant women and the fetus within them, and other people in

8Interestingly, descriptions of embryonic and child development are similar to those of plant growth. An unripe banana or in fact anything 'green' is described as jojoi'si'. When women give birth to immature babies, the fetuses are also described as jojoi'si' or unripe. A fuller, ripening banana is described as pures as is a forming, adolescent girl.

9Further detail about ways in which odour affects the body was not provided.
vulnerable states (in illness for example). Consequently, pregnant women and vulnerable others are subject to a number of strict food taboos. When asked about the reason for such food taboos, for example the ingestion of deer meat or *pacú* (Spanish - a fish with large, spiny scales), a direct correlation between the visible nature of the animal and its effects on a fetus would be drawn. Similarly, any paired foods, twin bananas for example, are thrown away as twin babies are perceived of as dangerous and inauspicious and occasionally meet the fate of infanticide. I suspect however that these notions of 'contagion magic' and of correct and incorrect feeding, apart from drawing such direct correlations between the effects of food on the body, carry with them more complex ideas about the position of humans amidst other beings co-habiting their universe (see previous chapters and Overing 1985, 1989, 1992). The variety of processes involved in obtaining and eating food place people into direct contact with other beings and necessitate a careful consideration of appropriate conduct and social behaviour.

The relationship drawn by Tsimanes between human substance or 'meat' and identity was described at the beginning of the chapter. A discourse which distinguishes 'we' from 'them' in terms of the kind of 'meat' possessed was often articulated with ideas of correct and incorrect sexual unions. It is rare for Tsimane men or women to have sex with and/or marry non-Tsimanes. This is especially in relation to national Bolivians rather than other indigenous peoples who live near and around the Tsimanes. Most people I spoke to believed that intercourse with people of other 'meats' inevitably causes the terrible, cartilage eating disease of *Leishmaniasis* (sp. *Espundia*) or *Jayedye* which in Tsimane means 'tearing'. The disease may not appear directly after intercourse but older people suffering from the disease I was told had been particularly promiscuous with national Bolivians when young.

As always, this idea was displayed most evidently with regards to my own 'meat' and position with the Tsimanes. Tsimane men found me unattractive and an impossible sexual possibility. It was only when they were especially drunk that they would fling jokes carrying sexual implications at me, along with direct suggestions of intercourse. However, such suggestions were couched in heavy joking and were always immediately followed by 'No, of course we can't have sex, you are of another 'meat'. I was only joking' - *Jam ra tupuj ne'maqui tsun*, *yoci shsh mis. Shejviñi momo' yu*. Again it would be repeated, if we were to have sex, we would inevitably *jayi* - tear.

---

10 In and close to both the Catholic and New Tribes Mission, there is a marked tendency for more intermarrying with non-Tsimanes. The Catholic Redemptorists brought *Trinitario* people with them to help establish the mission and many unions at Fátima have been consummated between Tsimane men and Trinitaria women. Similarly, in the past and to a lesser extent today, many *Yuracaré* lived closer to the Tsimanes and the two peoples intermarried.
Bad or incorrect sexual intercourse is not only believed to be that performed with non-Tsimanes. I mentioned in chapter four that non-fom' unions are usually considered wrong and carry with them the risk of abnormalities such as the people of Cuchisama lacking the ability of speech. Often illness and death of young babies and children would be attributed to incorrect unions. More often however, childhood illness and death would be attributed to a violation of couvade of the husband during pregnancy and for several months after birth. When a woman is pregnant, the baby is protected in the abdomen and intercourse is possible and desired. However, if the husband is to have sex with another woman during the pregnancy or during the three to four months following the birth, the baby is likely to die. Extra-marital sex during pregnancy is believed to 'hurt' the child and deform it. During the three to four months following the birth, the womb and abdomen in general are wounded and must be left alone to heal. Sex during this time would not only affect the mother but would also afflict likely death upon the child.

When I first arrived to live with the Tsimanes, I disembarked at Cosincho. One of the elder daughters of the household where I stayed had recently died leaving a very small baby and husband behind. Much to everyone's disapproval, the husband very quickly began sleeping with the sister of the dead daughter. The small baby became very ill and 'wanted to die'. The unanimous understanding of the baby's condition was as being the result of her father's untimely sexual activities with his sister-in-law. It was correct for him to have intercourse and to marry the sister-in-law but not so soon after the birth of the child or after the death of its mother. I returned to Cosincho several months later to find that the child had not died and that the husband and sister-in-law had 'married'. The grandmother quietly explained to me that the child had quickly improved when Jose the husband had 'moved back to his own mosquito net' and refrained from sex with his sister-in-law for several months. After a few months had passed and the child was better, Jose and his sister-in-law were safe to sleep together and to marry.

* 

Above I have outlined general Tsimane notions of correct and incorrect sex and feeding and related these ideas to a number of beliefs concerning illness. They reveal the permeability and vulnerability of the body to surrounding forces. Such forces are usually spoken of in terms of anger and odour and are provoked by offensive, 'incorrect' human actions. Specific parts of the

11 Sister-in-law falls into the same marriageable category of Fom' as actual wife.
person are perceived by the Tsimanes, to affect and be affected by the environment around them. A number of corporeal attributes are understood as being simultaneously desirable and necessary, but also dangerous.

Ethnographic literature on the Tsimanes (Pérez Diez 1983, 1985, 1987 and Daillant 1994) and the Tsimanes I met, all specify three parts of the person; the A' mo' or physical body, the A'edye' or 'soul' which is also sometimes referred to as the heart or ēojtyi, and the A'chis, the 'demonic' part of the person. These three elements of the person separate at death and the 'soul' and 'demonic' part are detachable before death. The 'soul' travels in states of dreaming whilst the 'demonic', menacing part of the person may wander during severe illness prior to final death. Upon death the A'edye' leaves the earth to live with dead kin 'up in the sky' or mayedyeche'12. The A'chis wanders the earth for some time after death, often taking an animal form, usually a jaguar or ant-eater13. Most people believe they can ward off the unwelcome visits of a wandering 'a'chis' by hanging a pineapple leaf from one of the outer beams of the house. The 'a'chis' of a recently dead person will only return to houses of known, close kin where he or she lived. Once, shortly after the death of a young child at Yucumo, I was with a family from Yucumo a day down river visiting kin. I asked them if they were not going to hang a pineapple leaf from their house. They all laughed explaining that the 'a'chis' would not come looking for them but only returned to houses close to where the child had died14. The third part of the person is the A' mo' or physical body and it is upon this corporal part which I will concentrate for it is the physical body which is ultimately affected by illness and which affects the world around it.

12When I first talked with Tsimanes about their understandings of death and heard about their souls taking flight to live up in the sky, I assumed a strong Christian influence. It is always difficult to unravel the various strands present in such syncretism and many Tsimane myths for example, speak of the escape of Jesucristo and the 'Judfos' into the forest. There is a great depth of material to be explored in this field but the space available in this thesis does not allow the required attention. Interestingly, the accounts I received about the parts of the person and their respective destinies were uniform amongst all the Tsimanes I spoke to, whether they lived in missionary settlements, whether they were young or old or lived in very isolated settlements. For the sake of this thesis I take this model of the person as representative as do the authors forementioned.
13Wandering humans with special transformative powers (usually shamans) also take the form of jaguars. I was told by a number of Tsimanes that it was easy to detect a 'human' jaguar from a 'real' one. Upon seeing a Tsimane in the forest, a 'human' jaguar will quickly run into the undergrowth whilst a 'real' jaguar will attack and probably kill its victim.
14In cases where a person dies away from home, the people with the body face danger but it is the home usually dwelt in by the recently dead person which becomes permeated with the presence of his/her A'chis.
Although I have mentioned how the Tsimanes appeared to develop little upon ideas of the physical effects of illness and were more interested in the cause, I also noted a detailed knowledge of all Tsimanes of physiology resulting it seems, primarily, from the meticulous examination of game body parts. Young children are encouraged to probe inside the bodies of game and to remove and identify organs and connect them to others. Specific body parts are described as embodying essences of what it means to be human. I mentioned above that the a'edye' or soul part of the person is often described as the čojtyi or heart of the person and is believed to continue living 'up in the sky' after the death of the person. Many Tsimanes explained to me how the life giving force of the person dwells within the heart. Whilst air is required for the body to breath, it essentially enters the heart and fills it with life sustaining energy which is then transmitted to the other organs of the body. This centre of life's vitality is considered as the centre of a being's capabilities and I described in chapter six how jaguar's hearts are prized and eaten by hunters in order to encapsulate and receive the essential capabilities of 'jaguar-ness'; primarily vision, speed and strength in the forest.

The positive effects on the physical body of food and drink have already been outlined. Sex is also desired and deemed necessary for social continuity. One has to 'work hard' to have children I was told. Having sex not once but over a period of two to three days should suffice to produce a child. The sexual fertility resulting in children, love and intimacy is also loaded with potent negative potential. Sexual fluids and menstrual blood are said to possess a strong odour which if present in inappropriate situations, anger animal and fish guardians and cause them to inflict illness. Menstruating women follow strict isolation taboos and spend the days of their menses inside the house, eating and drinking separately. If they were to cook or make beer, all those who were to eat or drink the produce would fall ill as provoked guardian spirits use beer or food as an effective medium for sorcery. If they were to accompany their husbands on hunting and fishing expeditions, their smell would again offend the game, fish and their respective guardians. As I have already mentioned, not only would the game and fish be removed by their guardians from human accessibility but the guardians would retaliate with sorcery.

One day at Pachene, Lorencia asked me if I menstruated and I told her that I did, and in fact was at that time. She and her husband were horrified to realize that I had cooked that morning for the household and that everyone had eaten my food. They rapidly threw what remained in the saucepan away and were highly irritated that I had not taken more care as it was now more than likely that the household would suffer the consequences of my conduct and fall ill. Serafín and Lorencia then produced a list of restrictions I was expected to follow. I had to eat from a separate plate, drink from a separate gourd and not help Lorencia with food or drink preparation. If I were
to go to the gardens and pick grapefruit, they would all fill with maggots, fall to the ground and rot. Finally I should not go into the forest to hunt or fish. Every day following this incident I was asked if I was ‘alright’ now - *aty jäm* or if my ‘meat’ was now ‘better’ - *aty jäm* shush mi?.

The effects of menstrual blood though, are most emphasized and feared in relation to the processes involved in beer production. As already discussed, beer - *shocdye*’ is perceived more than any other substance to be an extension of the woman producing it, most obviously in her saliva but also in her involvement in the whole of the process\(^\text{15}\). Beer is considered as an optimum medium for the transmission of anger and sorcery of provoked guardian beings or other humans. Many stories were repeated of direct poisoning by placing excrement in beer. Carmen Lero’s mother died due to drinking dog excrement in her beer, placed in it by dangerous ‘down river people’ - *cashves muntyi*’. Fermenting beer is carefully watched and surrounded by ashes or the spiny *arara* (sp.Pica Pica) plant to ward off *o’pito* (rainbow spirit/fish guardian) sorcery. If there is any reason to doubt the salubrity of a vat of chicha, it is immediately thrown away. As Lorencia explained to me ‘*Jäsi ra mi jun’si chäshi mi - chaîja’ ra tsun’, a’chis shupqui*’ - If you make beer when you are bleeding, we will all vomit, it will turn out bad and dangerous.

A pregnant woman is considered clean and safe as she does not bleed and is therefore not restricted in her domestic activities. Similarly a woman past menopause is also safe, it was explained to me, because her blood and sexual fluids had ‘dried up’. Post-menopausal and ‘barren’\(^\text{16}\) women are described as *chaîei*’ - ‘dry’ (men often joke crudely about their ‘dry meat’ - *aty’ chaîei* charqui mo’). It is relevant to note here that a ‘dry’ woman is not considered fertile or attractive, but is considered safe to those around her and no longer significantly affects the delicate balance between humans and the surrounding forces present in the environment. Sexual fluids and menstrual blood are considered essential for sexual enjoyment and fertility. They are considered powerful and desirable but are also recognized for their fatally dangerous qualities.

---

\(^{15}\)Interestingly, the preliminary stages of beer preparation, the chopping of the manioc is not considered to be affected by a menstruating woman. It is the subsequent chewing and mixing and final filtering of the fermented brew which embodies her danger.

\(^{16}\)A surprisingly high number of young Tsimane women lament the fact that they cannot have children and I was frequently asked for ‘fertility’ drugs. Most of these women had either taken medicine they understood to be a temporary contraception from river traders or had drunk *Boi’si’* - a tuber medicinal plant used as a contraceptive but which appears to permanently sterilize.
Again we see here the issue repeated through the chapter; the need to carefully negotiate the sometimes necessary overlap of domains of fertility. The essences of female fertility (and the same goes for male sexual fluids) are desirable and necessary, but if they are to intrude upon another fertile and nurturant domain, illness and probable death ensue. If precautions are heeded, guardian spirits are less likely to be angered by human impingement and social and individual health is protected.

The odour - oc mo' present in bodily fluids is most fatally evident in rotting flesh, animal and human. Upon the death of a post-pubescent person, the house is abandoned and a new one constructed often surprisingly close to the old site, but most often across the river. Whilst most belongings are also left to disintegrate with the house, gardens continue to be used and are not considered to be infiltrated with the dangers of putrefaction. The corpse is usually rubbed with a variety of substances, most often with chilli pepper and conofoto' sap17 and sometimes with pieces of termite mound. These are to ward off subsequent attacks of sorcery but most importantly to avenge the sorcerer when he or she is believed to be human. Pascual from Yucumo told me how he had believed the death of his son years ago to be the result of a fully intentional attack from a distant Tsimane sorcerer18. He covered his dead son's body with tobacco and chilli pepper and was fully satisfied to learn later that the suspected sorcerer had died as a result of his retaliation. The anointed corpse is then buried in a hole - jana' cui' - anywhere in the forest. The specific location is irrelevant as long as it is at some distance from the human settlement and for the following months the burial place is avoided. As I was told 'Jin chime'dye' to'ca poqui oc mo' tsäqui' - the bones in the burial hole also smell and are dangerous.

It is only when kin have been dead for some time (after at least a year), that their bodily substances no longer present danger transmitted through their smell. Visits in dreams or through shamanic mediation in the shìpa'19, are welcomed and desired (see below). Young pre-pubescent children are not believed to 'smell' at death and abandoning a house and possessions are not deemed necessary. Clearly pre-pubescent children neither menstruate or have sex and so

---

17 Conofoto' sap is used as a medicinal plant for a variety of ailments but principally as one of the only effective remedies for sorcery attacks.
18 Although most other Tsimanes are considered as potential sorcerers (see chapter five), most attacks of sorcery I ever heard about were believed to come from non-Tsimane humans or guardian beings.
19 Shìpa' is a conical shaped ritual house rarely found today. I never actually saw one but heard of the continued presence of three. See also Daillant 1994.
in all, their bodies do not yet pose a threat to others. Although older women no longer threaten with their menstrual blood, their rotting flesh is considered as potent as that of 'wet', fertile women.

* 

Some of the desired and feared effects of bodily presence have been described above. They illustrate how bodily substances are considered to inflict themselves upon the world causing anger and further implications of sorcery. They are also considered desirable and necessary for an enjoyed social existence. The ambivalent guardian spirits for example are said to want Tsimanes to live well, described as a state of 'being together, eating, drinking and singing'. The nurturant power of guardian beings is internalized by the eating of correctly smoked meat and fish. Yet if corporeal elements embodying human potency and fertility cross paths with, and impose their odours upon the realm of guardian beings in an intrusive manner, sparks fly and the desire to nurture, provide, render visible and available is reversed to one of violent anger. Such anger is again interiorized by human bodies but this time not as nurturant and life propelling, but in the form of painful and often fatal objects of sorcery.

Similarly beer, described in the previous chapter in terms of its socially embracing and creative qualities, may become a perfect medium for human and non-human sorcery. When the potent force present in menstrual blood transgresses into the domain of the nurturant force of beer, a dangerous element of the woman producer's fertility permeates her product. As a result, o'pito' (rainbow spirit/fish guardian) is angered and inflicts illness upon all those that drink. Hence a desirable sociality produced by drinking together, is converted to the most asocial state of illness and potential death.

Throughout the thesis I have described the dangers of imposition and measures taken to avoid intrusive behaviour and to not impose oneself. Here again, the impinging presence of bodily substances have been underlined. I have suggested how the body alive, and shortly following death, inscribes its effects upon the world.

* 

Talk of sorcery and sorcerizing beings is constant amongst the Tsimanes and often explains decisions for movements and changes in residence decisions. One of the first conversations I had with Crisanto Tayo at Pachene concerned exactly this and centred on his flights away from
sorcery and coincided with his various residence changes over the past ten years. He now lives near to where the Pachene river branches off the spine of the Tsimane river system and territory, the Maniqui (see Map 2). He explained to me that five years ago he very nearly died from a near fatal sorcery attack. Luckily he was saved by three factors. The prime reason for his recovery from an illness which virtually immobilized him, and which he experienced as severe leg pains, was abandoning his house slightly further up river from where he lives today. His previous house had been situated very close to some rocks within which dwelt o'pito' - (rainbow spirit/fish guardians). He had always feared their potential sorcery and when he finally fell ill, realized that they were finally retaliating against his offensive imposition on their domain. His house was too close to them and his and his family's encroaching presence had angered the o'pito'. He came to this conclusion because he had always expected the presence of o'pito' spirits in these rocks. But his suspicions were confirmed when his brother-in-law Juan whose father 'knows how to cure', carried out the collpa and urine treatment described below and 'saw' the o'pito's small arrows in his legs. Finally he decided to seek further advice in the town San Borja where a doctor told him he had rheumatism and prescribed him a course of antibiotics. The antibiotics were particularly efficacious and combined with a move away from the dwellings of o'pito', Crisanto told me, saved his life20.

Although I met a number of Tsimanes who took charge of the situation as did Crisanto by seeking therapy until their illness improved, I stress that the majority of individuals do not go to the lengths described by Crisanto. Often a sick person would talk to me about their illness and possible treatments. They would recognize a number of possible cures, ranging from forest plants, shamanic visions or antibiotics and usually a combination of all, but were loathe to seek them out. I interpret this apathy in terms of a loss of knowledge and control in the face of external, ultimately unknowable forces. Such forces permeate the body and are felt and suffered as illness.

Crisanto's mother Lorencia also suffered severely from frequent o'pito' and leaf-cutter ant attacks which she experienced in a similar way to her son. When I knew her, she was only able to move with considerable pain and effort. She and her family, unlike her son, decided not to move house as a move away from o'pito' and leaf-cutter ant anger, but instead went to great lengths to avoid their dwellings. This meant for example, that she had to be very careful where

20This is a very clear example of 'medical shopping' whereby a number of curative solutions are sought and the understandings of each does not disprove or underate the efficacy of the other. A deeper understanding of theories of causality could be relevant here. See Campbell (1989) for a fascinating analysis of causal statements amongst the Wayapi.
she walked in the forest and she demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of the whereabouts of nearby leaf-cutter ant mounds. More importantly however, most of the time I lived in her house, her son or husband, or I brought water to her from the river so she could wash without approaching the river and the numerous rocks which bordered it. 

Discrete removal and avoidance colours most Tsimane dealings with danger. Forces are not confronted but circumvented when possible. When paths cross and domains of potency overlap inappropriately, anger and sorcery ensue. Lorencia and Crisanto both avoided o'pito' presence and considered their own presence to be an imposition and an offence to the o'pito'. To remedy the threat of their inappropriate presence, they removed themselves and displayed a discretion which I have described for varying Tsimane social contexts.

Despite the fact that Tsimane anger is perceived to result in sorcery attacks, and many individuals were described to me as 'those who know how to sorcerize and kill', I never witnessed results of Tsimane human sorcery. Non-Tsimane humans are considered as the most powerful, arch sorcerers. Napo' - national Bolivians, who are most often met as river traders and gold diggers, are also perceived as being more prone to violent anger and 'without thoughts' - itsi dyijdye' (see chapter five). Napo', as a result of lacking 'thoughts', lack the capabilities of discretion and anger control so important to Tsimane successful social living. As such, Napo' are feared and avoided whenever possible. However river traders which frequent virtually all Tsimane riverine settlements are difficult to avoid, and fleeting interaction is necessary to acquire the products they barter. The number of infant and adult deaths attributed to Napo' anger is considerable. As already mentioned, the more experienced river traders further use their knowledge of the Tsimane fear of anger to add potency to their threats. A number of river traders I was told, actually flaunt their powers of sorcery, and threaten to kill children, if their quotas of palm roofing are not provided or other debts left unpaid.

Pascual at Yucumo lived with two wives when I knew him. His third wife had died two years previously. Pascual described to me how a river trader had arrived at Pascual's house and demanded a pig from Pascuara, the third wife. Pascuara refused to give the river trader a pig and he became visibly angry and left the settlement. Several months later, Pascuara fell seriously ill and Pascual, who enjoyed good relations with the New Tribes Missionaries, took her to their

21It is perhaps interesting to note that the Pachene river where Lorencia lived is part of Tsimane inhabited territory which is furthest up river and into the foothills of the Andes. As such it is particularly rocky and considered home to a concentration of animal and fish guardian spirits and consequently is also frequented as an abundant fishing and hunting ground. The flip side of this abundance is the presence of sorcerizing guardian spirits.
clinic in San Borja. She was diagnosed as having a severe kidney problem and rapidly died in the clinic. Her kidney problem and subsequent death were understood by all at Yucumo to have been a direct result of a sorcery attack from the river trader. Unfortunately for the Tsimanes, the negotiations of discretion described above for dealings with other Tsimanes and guardian beings are not always effective or possible in their relations with Napo'. Upon Napo' arrival to a Tsimane household, if forewarned, most if not all household members often run into the forest and hide until his or her passing. However, the Napo' can be most effective in their manipulations of Tsimane sociability, by generously offering out free portions of sugar cane alcohol. Once drunk, relations of apparent trust and intimacy are established between the drinking Tsimanes and the river traders. Nevertheless, the Tsimane women and children usually tend to remove themselves, or look on from a distance with a certain despair and worry, at what is to result from such feigned intimacy.

*  
The above section has explored in more detail the actual effects of a break down in appropriate social relationships and the onset of angered agency. It has shown how it is the human body which ultimately suffers the outbursts of anger of human and non-human beings. Such anger is experienced in the form of objects of sorcery which permeate the body, cause pain and invariably result in death. Forces provoked by the momentary interruption of good, safe social relations, are felt by human bodies. Most people are unable to see the forces or the effects of the forces. It is partly as a result of such 'impaired vision', that they feel themselves impotent in illness situations. Those who are able to see, are able to some extent to understand and know the forces at play. As such, they are able to assert some influence, a certain degree of control over the illness process.

I have mentioned the value attributed to good vision and described certain vision improving measures taken by male hunters and female weavers. A concern with visibility becomes particularly apparent when attempting to determine the nature of an illness and the possible source of sorcery. The causes of illness are almost unanimously understood to be the action of angered human and non-human agency upon individual bodies. The concern then is to render visible the sorcery objects inside the victim's body and to reach an understanding of why a guardian spirit, a Tsimane or non-Tsimane person could have been angered. Constant discussion circulates the various possibilities.

\[ \text{22See chapter six.} \]
I suggest that the value attributed to seeing well and to rendering 'invisible' foreign bodies or beings visible, may be understood to some extent, as an assertion of control over a threateningly uncontrollable and terrifying situation. Part of this control is linked to notions of knowledge and capabilities ultimately accessible to everyone but only mastered by a few. 'Knowing how to see' for example, is a capability considered essential for effective curing. Through 'seeing', the shaman or non-specialist obtains further knowledge in a potentially ununderstandable, unknowable situation such as illness. He or she who knows primarily through 'seeing', is thus able to assert a certain control over the worldly forces around him or her. By 'seeing', knowing, and asserting a measure of control, he or she is more effectively able to negotiate danger.

It would also be relevant to develop this issue whilst considering the body and sensual experience as being centres of experience and knowledge acquisition (see chapter two). Heightening the senses, in this case vision, produces finer tuned capabilities to know the world more intimately and to thus better deal with it. To know people and places is essential in the creation of a safe, inhabitable and productive universe.

Both Tsimane shamanic specialists (cochoji)\(^{23}\) and non-specialists are believed to be able to determine the cause of illness by 'seeing' the objects of sorcery in the victim's body. Part of the 'seeing' process is to locate the farajtacye', the objects of sorcery. These are then sucked out and spat away. Another aspect of the 'seeing' process is to unravel the identity of the culprit and to suggest thereby possible retaliatory or protective measures. As I mentioned above, Tsimanes usually anoint their corpses in chilli pepper and tobacco both to deflect further human sorcery attack but also to avenge the suspected sorcerer with further sorcery. When a guardian spirit is believed to have sent the sorcery projectiles\(^{24}\), the afflicted person and those co-residing with

\(^{23}\)I never actually met a practicing shaman but was informed of the whereabouts of at least three who practice today. Riester (1976, 1978) and Daillant (1994) offer more detail on shamanic knowledge and practice. Nevertheless, many non-specialists displayed a rich knowledge of shamanic attributes and I am inclined to believe that shamanic knowledge for the Tsimanes can be understood more as a quality accessible both to specialists and non-specialists. Most individuals were keen however, to specify between those men or women who 'really know how to sing, 'see', and cure' and 'those who only talked'.

\(^{24}\)Often the guardians themselves, living deep within the earth and inside large rocks have numerous servants or mozoz (Spanish word) to actually operate their sorcery attacks. The clearest example of this is the guardian spirit who dwells within leaf-cutter ant mounds occasionally emitting low growls heard by passers by in the forest. This guardian spirit rarely if ever leaves his home inside the mound, and sends leaf-cutter ants out on sorcery missions. The leaf-cutter ants are responsible for actually afflicting sorcery attacks upon people, and numerous illnesses when I was present were attributed to such attacks.
him or her, often take extreme measures of avoidance of the guardian spirit. As previous examples describe, victims of guardian spirit sorcery often move house or away from guardian dwellings.

I was shown a number of vision inducing plants which non-shamans consider too potent and dangerous to ingest\textsuperscript{25}. A white, crystalline substance known as \textit{collpa} or \textit{millu} brought down from the highlands of Bolivia appears to have replaced the use of these plants amongst most Tsimanes. Although specialists are able to use the stone along with tobacco or \textit{morife} (see footnote) to 'see' inside the body, most Tsimanes use \textit{collpa} by rubbing it onto the ailing part of the body. Such rubbing or \textit{shijraqui} is believed both to superficially relieve pain but also to extract sorcery objects even when they have not been specifically identified by a specialist. Ideally, \textit{collpa} is rubbed over the body\textsuperscript{26} and then scraped off and placed in a calabash of young boy's urine. The mixture froths and reveals 'like a photograph', both the insides of the body and the exact whereabouts of the \textit{farajtacdye}' (objects of sorcery) and sometimes the identity of the sorcerer. I met several Tsimanes who knew how to 'see' in this fashion and whose knowledge was sought by others.

Finally, I was interested to hear a number of accounts of visitations from dead kin both in dreams and in ritualized ceremonies, which further shed light upon ideas of the knowable and unknowable threats of illness. In the past, and perhaps today, some Tsimane shamans invited dead kin and non-human visitors to partake in social celebrations with living kin. These events took place in a conical shaped ceremonial house known as a \textit{shipa}'. Dead kin and a number of 'mountain dwelling people' - \textit{mucu'canyi muntyi}' (see Pérez-Diez 1985, 1987), enticed by shamanic songs and drumming, made nocturnal visits and shared in the festivities. The specific visitations described to me emphasized their social nature. Dead and living kin, along with non-human beings were able to drink especially strong beer together and share distant knowledge. It was the dead on these occasions who were deemed to really be able to cure and help the shaman.

\textsuperscript{25}Most of these plants fall under a general category of \textit{Robodye}' (see Oviedo (n.d.) Riester (1976)) and most people are able to specify between different kinds of \textit{Robodye}'. \textit{Qrotas robodye}' (star's \textit{robodye}') for example, is a tree epiphyte which is either sought high up in trees or is found after falling to the ground. This species is believed to acquire its special vision inducing powers from stars. I was told of six other species of \textit{robodye}' but never witnessed any ingestion of the substances. When I detailed effects of \textit{Ayahuasca} to a number of Tsimanes, describing the kinds of hallucinations invoked, they suggested that \textit{robodye}' and other vision inducing plants combined with \textit{robodye}' such as tobacco and \textit{Morife} did not cause such kinds of hallucinations. Rather, they heightened the vision of the individual to really see into a body or see through a tangled forest or to see in the dark.\textsuperscript{26}The armpits and other centres of glandular activity were specified but reasons why were not developed upon.
Furthermore, dead people are able to unravel the mystery and unknown surrounding circumstances of their own death and of other close kin. Miguel's mother's sister for example, had met one of the most terrifying and undesirable fates of wandering into the forest to gather palm fruit, never to return. No-one ever found a trace of her. She came to the shipa one night at Fatima however, and described to Miguel the details of her death. She had been violently asphyxiated with a branch. To finally know this alleviated the confusion and pain for her kin, surrounding her disappearance. The relief expressed by the Tsimanes upon fully understanding at least one reason for how or why someone had died was noticeable.

*I have described a number of ways in which certain Tsimanes, living and dead, are able to reinstate a measure of control in situations which to most people are unknowable and beyond human intention.

Nevertheless, most Tsimanes I met would agree with Lorencia in her lament that when Tsimanes become sick, they die. Many ill Tsimanes simply 'want to die' and do little to avert the process. I hope to have shown that a principal reason for this lies in the fact that most Tsimanes feel that illness and death usually lie beyond the sphere of human agency and intention. Moreover, illness and death are a result of intention gone wrong. They are the result of ruptured social manoeuvres which are ideally played out with meticulous care.

Ideally, anger and the provocation of forces which are essentially predatory are circumvented in favour of appropriating those which are life regenerating and productive. Illness and death are the ultimate culmination of inappropriate social living with beings both human and non-human. The forces which cause them for most people are unknowable. The only way in which such forces become knowable is in an internalized form, in the form of the bodily experience of pain in illness.

\[27\] I was unable to gather exactly who or what attacked her.
CONCLUSION

Lorencia always expressed excitement as she described the throbbing sensation she felt in her neck and calves, the pulsation which informed her of the travelling and imminent arrival of visiting kin. The prospects of sitting together in her house, of laughing, talking, eating and drinking, were all attractive and long awaited.

Socializing with close kin, eating good, 'real' food, and drinking strong beer are highly enjoyable and sought after experiences. Social life, when appropriate, provides nurturance, intimacy and safety for the Tsimanes. I have discussed however, that the Tsimanes live in an ambivalent social universe. They recognize the multi-faceted and apparently contradictory nature of the potencies latent in social existence. The forces necessary for the vitality and continuity of social life, are simultaneously terrifyingly predatory and dangerous.

Whilst Lorencia awaits arriving kin with several vats of strongly fermented beer, she does so tentatively. She knows that a potential presence of danger cannot be avoided. She has already taken the necessary precautions so as not to provoke the anger of guardian beings, in her careful preparation of maize and cassava beer. Similarly, socializing with visiting kin, and indeed her co-residents, involves a careful gauging of the moods of individuals present, and of the general affectivity created by them being together. Her own mood and other implications of her bodily presence must also be considered. Lorencia suffers from a number of ailments which render her virtually immobile. She attributes them all to various human and non-human sorcerizing agents, who have, over the course of the past months and years, been angered. Her immobility makes travelling and visiting difficult, and Lorencia laments the resulting depletion in her knowledge and experience of her forest and river environment, and even more so of her kin relationships.

Tsimane individuals are responsible for creating preferred social ways of being, between which, they and others search for and create safe and life-generating social existence. Mastering the art of socializing involves a close consideration of the implications of one's own presence amidst others, and of the effects others may have upon one.

I have discussed how Tsimane perceptions of their social existence arise from an understanding and reflection upon the minutest particularities of each being's presence in the world. The creation of sociality for the Tsimanes, rests upon a concern with atmosphere and affectivity, rather than upon a given relatedness between people, or between people and places. I have emphasized that social existence does not constitute something tangible or whole, but is created by self aware individuals as a processual endeavour.
The bodily presence of self and others is burdened with implications in that it may leave both positive and negative traces upon the social world. In describing throughout the thesis, the implications of both subtle and violent bodily presence in the world, I have but scratched the surface of understanding and exploring Tsimane concerns with corporeality and what it really means to dwell in their social world. I have shown how Tsimane bodily presence both receives and deposits nurturance and danger in a number of different environments which make up their social universe. In doing so, I have layed the foundations upon which I hope to develop a deeper and fuller phenomenological analysis of what it means to dwell in a social world for the Tsimanes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A' mo'</td>
<td>physical body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'chis</td>
<td>ugly, foul, bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'edye'</td>
<td>spirit (part of person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghijghi</td>
<td>ugly, bad, foul smelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anic</td>
<td>truly, really (adv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atava</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aty</td>
<td>now that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ava'</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bā'yī</td>
<td>to live, to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĉa'joij</td>
<td>to escape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canacdy'e</td>
<td>boiled food (usually plantains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carij</td>
<td>difficult, hard work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carijtaqui</td>
<td>to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashve</td>
<td>down river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chābij</td>
<td>to throb (also fig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaij</td>
<td>to vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chañej</td>
<td>dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāshi</td>
<td>to bleed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chātidiye'</td>
<td>known person, kinsperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chij</td>
<td>to know, to know how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chime'dye'</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĉhosho'</td>
<td>mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chóva</td>
<td>anaconda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūi'dye'</td>
<td>opening, doorway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cọcojsi'</td>
<td>shaman, sorcerer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĉojcaqui</td>
<td>to care for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ĉojtyi</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copájshi</td>
<td>peccary guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu'dye'</td>
<td>domesticated bird or animal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cui' momo'  for the sake of it
Cui'isi  one's own
Dai'  many
Därä'  forest, tree, vegetation
Däräij  to hunt
Dojity  mythological being
Dyijidye'  idea, concept
Fácoij  to become angry
Fácoijdye' / fáquitidye'  anger
Farajtaqui  to sorcerize
Feryi  strong
Focoi'si  rotten
Fom'  person of marriageable category
Furójcan  to see through, clearly
I'dojore'  fish guardian
Ijaqui  to kill
Isatri  amber
Itsij  there is no
Jäcaqui  to take
Jadyiqui  to go with view to return
Jaftaqui  to smoke game/fish
Jäjábä  generic term for guardian beings
Jam  no, not, nothing
Jäm'  well, good (adv)
Jam jäm'  bad
Jäm'taqui  to make, build
Jana' (juna')  where, where is
Jäsi  to make beer
Jayedye'  Leishmaniasis
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayi</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jebacdye'</td>
<td>game animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jejmiti</td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeñej</td>
<td>like, as if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeyaqui</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimacdye'</td>
<td>song, chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jitupjeyaqui</td>
<td>to throw out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo'na</td>
<td>soup, stew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo'no'</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joban</td>
<td>to leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jojoi'si'</td>
<td>green, unripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juchájdye'</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun'si'</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'jeyaqui</td>
<td>to want, desire, love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majoij</td>
<td>to be happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayedye'</td>
<td>sky, heaven, day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me'</td>
<td>like that, in this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micha'</td>
<td>mythological being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morife</td>
<td>medicinal plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'ya'</td>
<td>there is, it (he, she) is there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucu'</td>
<td>rock, hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujve</td>
<td>over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaqui</td>
<td>to defurr, skin game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muntyi'</td>
<td>man, person - usually Tsimane person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naijti</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napo'</td>
<td>national bolivian, spanish speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nash</td>
<td>word of emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natí</td>
<td>to wander, travel, move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne'maqui</td>
<td>to have sexual intercourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nem</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigdy'e'</td>
<td>charm for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noi'yi</td>
<td>with fear/shock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nōtaqui</td>
<td>to help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutsedye'e'</td>
<td>poison (fish trap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutstyi</td>
<td>to poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'pito'</td>
<td>rainbow, fish guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oc</td>
<td>uncleanliness, bodily odour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odo'</td>
<td>spider monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opaj</td>
<td>species of wild turkey (Sp. Pavo mutún)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai'</td>
<td>separate, in different places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paj qui</td>
<td>so that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañi</td>
<td>to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen'</td>
<td>wife, woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peyacdy'e'</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piñidye'e'</td>
<td>remedy, medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piñituqui</td>
<td>to cure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poqui</td>
<td>to smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poquidy'e'</td>
<td>odour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pu'shaqui</td>
<td>to blow (especially in sorcery and healing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purety</td>
<td>mature, ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quevaqui</td>
<td>to look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>so that, like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quijoij</td>
<td>to work in the garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>future participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Säcsi</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Säñi</td>
<td>to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapui'si</td>
<td>mad/crazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharagdye'</td>
<td>species of flowering tree (season)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shejviñi</td>
<td>to joke, tease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shijraqui</td>
<td>to rub, massage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipa</td>
<td>ritual, ceremonial house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shocdye'</td>
<td>beer (maize, plantain, cassava)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shupqui</td>
<td>to come out, to turn out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shushh</td>
<td>meat/flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sóbaqui</td>
<td>to visit, travel, move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabedye'</td>
<td>generic term for fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacya'</td>
<td>to remain, to stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tári (táraqui)</td>
<td>to cry, be sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To'</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To'oty</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóro</td>
<td>species of plantain for drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsäqui'</td>
<td>dangerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsícadye'</td>
<td>embarrassment, timidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- tum</td>
<td>suffix - together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupuj</td>
<td>possible, sufficient, to fit, to reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuqui</td>
<td>to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvuvuty</td>
<td>species of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uduj</td>
<td>palm casing vat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vämi</td>
<td>to marry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vämtyi'</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vo'coij</td>
<td>disembowel game animals/fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vo'vodye'</td>
<td>lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vonej</td>
<td>species of fish (Sp. Sábalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yäcäj</td>
<td>hard, firm (fig. - lazy, slow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiris</td>
<td>alone, one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu-Lughod, L. 1986
Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society.
Berkeley: University of California Press.

In Abu-Lughod & Lutz (eds); Language and the Politics of Emotion. C.U.P.

Language and the Politics of Emotion. Cambridge University Press.

Aldazabal, B. 1988
‘La identificacion de los Mocetene a traves de las fuentes’ in Amazonia Peruana T.V. III (16) 69-77.

Aldazabal, V. 1985
‘La muerte entre los Mocetenes’, Scripta Ethnologica (Buenos Aires) IX: 61-64.

Altamirano, D.F. 1899

Altamirano, D. F. 1979 (1703)
Historia de la Mision de Mojos. La Paz, Bolivia. Instituto Boliviano de Cultura. Publicacion no. 3.

Araoz, G. 1995
Matrimonio Prescriptivo y Espacio Social Tsimane. Tesis de Grado, Universidad Mayor de San Andres. La Paz, Bolivia.

Arhem, K. 1996
In Descola & Paulson (eds); Nature and Culture: Anthropological Perspectives.

Armentia, N. 1905
Descripcion del Territorio de las Misiones Franciscanas de Aplobamba por otro nombre Caupolican. La Paz, Tip. Artistica.

Arnold, J. (ed) 1995

Barrado Manzano, A. 1945
Las Misiones Franciscanas de Bolivia. Seville, Imprenta San Antonio.

Basso, E. 1970
‘Xingu Carib Kinship Terminology and Marriage: Another View’.
Basso, E. 1973
The Kalapalo Indians of Central Brazil. New York; Rhinehart & Winston.

Basso, E. 1975

Basso, K. 1984

Belaunde, E. 1992
Gender, Commensality and Community among the Airo-Pai of Western Amazonia. Ph.D Thesis, London School of Economics.

Bender, B. (ed) 1993

Bogado, D. 1989

Bolivar, G. de 1906

Bourdieu, P. 1977
Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1984

Brunner, E. (ed) 1984

Campbell, A. 1989
To Square with Genesis. Edinburgh: Polygon.

Cardus, F.J. 1886
Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia. Descripcion del estado de ellas en 1883 y 1884 .... Barcelona, Libreria de la Inmaculada Concepcion.

Carsten, J. & Hugh-Jones, S. (eds) 1995
About the House: Levi-Strauss and Beyond. Cambridge University Press.
Caspar, F. 1953
'Three myths of the Mosetene Indians' in Ethnos 18 (3-4) pp. 167-171.

Castillo, F. 1988
Chimanes, Cambas y Collas. Esc. Prof. Don Bosco, La Paz.

CDC-Bolivia 1989
'La Region de Chimanes: Un Diagnostico de la Biodiversidad y la Problematica Ambiental': CDC Bolivia. La Paz.

Chicchon, A. 1992
Chimane Resource Use and Market Involvement in The Beni Biosphere Reserve, Bolivia.

CIDDEBENI 1990
Diagnostico Socio-Economico del Bosque de Chimanes (Trinidad).

'Politics and Gender in Simple Societies'. In Ortner & Whitehead (eds); Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality. Cambridge University Press.

Collier, J.F. & Yanagisako, S.J. 1987


Comision Socio-Economica. 1989
'Bosque Chimanes: Estudio Socio-economico'. Report prepared for President of Bolivia.

Crocker, C. 1985

D'Orbigny, A. 1835-1845

Daillant, I. 1994

Descola, P. 1992
Descola, P. 1994

Descola, P. & Paulson (eds) 1996

Diez Astete, A. 1988
La Estacion Biologica del Beni Y la Cuestion Etnosocial en la Reserva de la Biosfera de Chimanes.

Dilley, R. (ed) 1992

Douglas, M. (ed) 1982
In the Active Voice. Routledge and Kegan Paul

Dumont, L. 1953

Feld, S. 1982

Gadamer, H.G. 1975

Gadamer, H.G. 1986
The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays. Cambridge University Press.

Gell, A. 1995

Gill, G. & Beesley, R. 1991
Diccionario Castellano-Tsimane, Tsimane-Castellano. Mision Nuevas Tribus, Bolivia.

Goldman, I. 1979 (1963)
The Cubeo, Indians of the North West Amazon. Urbana; University of Illinois Press.

Gow, P. 1989
Gow, P. 1991

Gow, P. 1995
'Land, People and Paper in Western Amazonia'. In Hirsch & O'Hanlon (eds) The Anthropology of Landscape.

Hann (ed) 1993
Socialism. Routledge.

Heidegger, M. 1971

Hill, J.D. 1993


Hissink, K. 1955
'Felsbilder und Salz der Chimanen-Indianer'. Paideuma 6: 60-68.

Hissink, K. & Hahn, A. 1989

Howell, S. & Willis, R. (eds) 1988

Hugh-Jones, C. 1979
From the Milk River. Spatial and Temporal Processes in North West Amazonia. Cambridge University Press.

Hugh-Jones, S. 1979
The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in North West Amazonia. Cambridge University Press.

Hugh-Jones, S. 1992

Hugh-Jones, S. 1995

Ingold, T. 1986

Ingold, T. 1995

Isacsson, S. 1993

Kensinger, K. (ed) 1984

Kuper, A. (ed) 1992

Levi-Strauss, C. 1943

Levi-Strauss, C. 1969

Levi-Strauss, C. 1973
Tristes Tropiques. Picador, Pan Books Ltd.

Levi-Strauss, C. 1983

Lukes, S. 1973
Individualism. Basil Blackwell.

Lutz, C. 1988

MacPherson, C. B. 1962
Martua 1906

Maybury-Lewis, D. 1979

Maybury-Lewis, D. (ed) 1979

McCallum, C. 1989
Gender, Personhood and Social Organization amongst the Cashinahua of Western Amazonia. Ph.D Thesis, London School of Economics.

Mendizabal, S. 1932
Vicariato Apostolico del Beni: Descripcion de su Territorio y sus Misiones. La Paz, Bolivia: Recoleta.

Merleau Ponty, M. 1962

Metraux, A. 1942

Miller, D. 1987

Myers, F. 1986

Needham, R. 1971
'Introduction' to Rethinking Kinship and Marriage. ASA Monographs II. London Tavistock.

New Tribes Mission s.d.
Chimane-English Dictionary. Ms.

Nordenskiold, E. von. 1922

Nordenskiold, E. von 1924
The Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia. Comp. Ethnog. Stud. no.3 Goteborg.
Orellana, A. de 1906
'Carta del Padre Antonio de Orellana sobre el origen de las misiones de Mojos'

Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality.
Cambridge University Press.

Overing, J. 1984a

Overing, J. 1985

Overing, J. 1986a

Overing, J. 1986b

Overing, J. 1988

Overing, J. 1989
'The Aesthetics of Production: The sense of community among the Cubeo and the Piaroa'. Dialectical Anthropology 14:pp. 159-75.

Overing, J. 1990

Overing, J. 1992

Overing, J. 1993a
'The Anarchy and Collectivism of the 'Primitive Other': Marx and Sahlins in the Amazon'. In Hann (ed) Socialism. Routledge.

Overing, J. 1993b

Overing, J. 1995
Overing Kaplan, J. 1972

Overing Kaplan, J. 1973
‘Endogamy and the Marriage Alliance; A Note on the Continuity of Groups’. Man (n.s) 8(4); 555-79.

Overing Kaplan, J. 1975

Overing Kaplan, J. 1981
Review Article: Amazonian Anthropology. Journal of Latin American Studies, 13 (1); 151-164.

Overing Kaplan, J. 1984b

Overing Kaplan, J. (ed) 1977

Oviedo, G. s.d.

Pandya, V. 1990

Parkin, D. (ed) 1985


Perez-Diez, A. 1983
Etnografia de los Chimane del Oriente Boliviano. Tesis de Doctor en Filosofia y Letras. Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Perez-Diez, A. 1985
‘La muerte y la funebria entre los Chimane de Bolivia oriental’. Scripta Ethnologica (Buenos Aires) IX: 25-36.

Perez-Diez, A 1987
Perez-Diez, A. 1989

Piland, R. 1991

Plaza, P. & Carvajal, J. 1985
Etnias y Lenguas de Bolivia. La Paz, Bolivia: Instituto Boliviano de Cultura.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1953

Riches, D. (ed) 1986

Riester, J. 1976
En Busca de la Loma Santa. La Paz-Cochabamba, Los Amigos del Libro.

Riester, J. 1978
Cancion Y Produccion en la vida de un pueblo indigena (Los Chimane: tribu de la selva oriental). La Paz-Cochabamba, Los Amigos del Libro.

Riester, J. 1993
Universo mitico de los Chimane. La Paz, Hisbol.

Rioja, G. 1990
'Proyecto Jatata' Informe Preliminar. Conservacion Internacional. La Paz, Bolivia.

Riviere, P. 1969

Riviere, P. 1984

Riviere, P. 1987

Riviere, P. 1993
Riviere, P. 1995

Rosaldo, M. 1980

Rosaldo, M. 1984

Rosaldo, R. 1980

Sahlins, M. 1985

Sanz, R. 1913
Mis Memorias. Archivos de la Comisaria Franciscana de Bolivia, ano V, No.49, Tarata.

Schweizer Provinz der Redentoristen 1977
Information 33 Offizieller Teil. P. Provinzial/ Leuk-Stadt.

Seeger, A. 1987

Shweder, R. & Levine, R. (ed) 1984

Siskind, J. 1973

Siskind, J. 1973
To Hunt in the Morning. Oxford University Press.

Stoller, P. 1989

Strathern, M. (ed) 1987
Dealing with Inequality. Analyzing Gender Relations in Melanesia and Beyond. Cambridge University Press.
Strathern, M. (ed) 1995

Taylor, A.C. 1993

Taylor, A.C. 1996

Thomas, D. 1979

Thomas, D. 1982

Tilley, C. 1994

Vivieros de Castro, E. 1992

Wegner, R. 1930

Wegner, R. 1931

Weiner, J. 1991

Weiner, J. (ed) 1994
‘Aesthetics is a cross-cultural category’. Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester.

Wilbert, J. 1987
Each Tsimane individual has equal access to the knowledge and experience required to fully develop and master his or her social etiquette and understand that of others. No individual or group of people may assert control over a person’s access to an aesthetics of social living. There are other limitations to a person's social knowledge of social living however. Not every person, in fact, masters his or her knowledge or social capabilities to the same extent, and I will discuss in particular how knowledge acquisition and the extent to which a person may act appropriately in the world, are influenced by the ability to move and experience widely, and in so doing, perceive the movements of others.

Throughout the thesis, I discuss how movement is enjoyed by the Tsimanes. Furthermore it is necessary as a means to maintaining a delicate balance between desired social states. Both states of intense intimacy and personal autonomy are valued by the Tsimanes. An ideal form of social living is one which allows for the safe transition from one to the other. It is movement I suggest, which most efficiently enables the creation of a balance between desired states of autonomy and conviviality. Furthermore, socializing knowledge and a gradual mastering of social capabilities, is shown to be most profoundly and widely acquired through the movements of oneself through the social universe, and in the perception and understanding of movements of others. Those who feel they no longer know, explain their deficit in terms of being stuck, of no longer being able to move.

I have suggested that Tsimane ideas of what constitute preferred and desirable forms of sociality and their converse, result in a profound, evaluating commentary about the nature of social existence. In turn, such ideas carry with them practical implications. They act as a catalyst for the creation of forms of sociality. Preferred and safe social living for the Tsimanes will be shown to exist as long as individuals can oscillate from situations of extreme conviviality and intimacy to those of individual space and autonomy. Kin desire to be together, but only whilst the mood or atmosphere is correct. A hint of inappropriate mood or presence propels a move away and the subsequent dispersal of the convivial group. Fluidity lies at the heart of successful social living. Fluidity is best and most efficiently upheld by a preference for movement of both self and others. Furthermore, each individual maintains access to new knowledge and experience by moving and socializing with different people in different places. Travelling and visiting, and receiving visits from others, help to expand the known, social universe of each individual and, in turn, enables a finer mastering of his or her social capabilities. The most salient aspect of Tsimane social living revealed to me during fieldwork, was this taste for movement, which allowed for the dialectical transformation between intense intimacy and escape from an impinging social milieu.
& Carvajal 1985), who today inhabit the lowland eastern side of the Department of La Paz. Considerable attention has been directed towards historical references to the Tsimanes, and to their neighbours and relatives the Mosetenes. The scope and depth of a number of these anthropological studies is impressive (see especially Pérez-Diez 1983, 1989, Aldazábal 1988, and Daillant 1994). For this reason I will provide only a brief outline of the work upon Tsimane history, and describe more specifically the settlements in which I carried out fieldwork over the period from December 1991 to August 1994.

Brief Overview of Ethnohistorical References:
The first mention of the Mosetene/Tsimane area appears in the accounts of a Franciscan priest, Gregorio de Bolívar (1621). His ventures were followed over the decades and centuries to come by other Franciscan, Dominican and Jesuit missionary efforts. Most modern historical accounts of the Bolivian Amazon focus on the activities and impact of the Jesuits. Despite the brevity and superficiality of all these missionary accounts, what stands out as blatantly clear in all of them are the difficulties encountered by the missionaries in their attempts to ‘reduce’ the Tsimanes. All accounts refer to the volatile nature and social instability of the Tsimanes and a lack of centralized forms of settlement and hierarchy. Subsequent missionary failings have been attributed mostly to Tsimane social organization not allowing for centralized leadership and their tendencies to move frequently over an extensive territory (see also Nordenskiöld 1922 and Wegner 1931 who note a lack of hierarchy and headmanship amongst the Tsimanes).

Well into the nineteenth century, much confusion exists in distinguishing the Tsimanes from the Mosetenes, and from other neighbouring groups such as the Mojeños and Yuracaré who still inhabit this part of lowland Bolivia extending from the foothills of the Andes out onto the Moxos savanna. Aldazábal (1988) notes how numerous accounts refer to the Tsimanes under a number of names including the Maniquies, Chomano, Chimanisa, Rache, Amo, Aporono, Amono, Cunana, Tucupi and Muchanes. Metraux (1942) also comments upon the confusion appearing especially in nineteenth century

7 See Armentia (1905), Pérez-Diez (1983) and Daillant (1994) for full, chronological detail of these events and the existing accounts.
8 Intermarriages between Tsimanes and Yuracaré and Mojeños continue today. When the Redemptorist missionaries arrived in the 1950’s, they brought Mojeno (specifically Trinitarios) people to their Missions and a strong Trinitario presence continues today, for example, at Fatima.
and beer. The sharing of these products in differing social contexts plays an essential part in the very creation of forms of sociality. Both men and women are thereby responsible for creating preferred social ways of being, between which, individuals and families oscillate in their individual search for and creation of safe and life-generating social existence.
CHAPTER EIGHT: ILLNESS AND DEATH

One of the most popular and repeated excerpts from the mythic sagas of the two creator brothers Micha' and Dojity\(^1\), concerns the original creation of Tsimanes and other human and non-human beings. Whilst Tsimanes were moulded from mud, other peoples (national Bolivians, foreigners and neighbouring indigenous peoples) were carved from white balsa wood\(^2\). Salomé and her mother-in-law Lorencia were discussing this mythic extract in the light of their fears of illness and death whilst they each sifted their chewed cassava and maize (\(jäsdye'\)) for fermentation. Lorencia concluded their analysis by remarking that it is precisely because Tsimanes were originally made from mud and other peoples from balsa wood, that Tsimanes suffer so easily from illness and die without a cure. She followed on to explain that other peoples also died, but not she believed, as a result of illness. Other peoples only died from old age. Finally, she asked if people 'across the sea' suffered from illness or if indeed, they died at all.

I had heard varying accounts of the travels and exploits of Micha' and Dojity from a number of people but was somewhat surprised by Lorencia's interpretation of this part of the myth. Until then I had been struggling to uncover Tsimane notions of the body, of illness\(^3\), and a detailed explanation of healing techniques. Again and again I confronted little interest on the part of the Tsimanes in exploring their own understandings of illness or of seeking out therapy and analysing the effects of therapy.

One Bolivian anthropologist suggested to me that all Tsimane faith in healing and in shamans had been eradicated by missionary influence as had their intimate knowledge of forest medicinal plants. Aspirins and antibiotics were now all that were of interest. I suggest however, that whilst an element of this tendency is certainly true, the feeling of impotence and apathy which besets a sick person and his or her close kin is not a reaction to missionary presence or a gradual lack of faith in pre-missionary conceptions of illness. Below I discuss ways in which ideas of anger and sorcery lie at the heart of Tsimane illness beliefs. These ideas I doubt were introduced by the

---

\(^1\)For a full account of these myths see Riester 1993, Pérez-Diez 1983 and Daillant 1994.

\(^2\)In chapter six I mention the petroglyphs near the salt lick close to the source of the Pachene river. These have been best documented by Hissink (1955). They illustrate what is described by the Tsimanes as being one man surrounded by many women which are depicted as vaginas. These carved drawings are spoken of as 'the writing of Dojity' or the 'writing of Jesucristo' depending on the context or person speaking. Most Tsimanes say that it is here, upon these rocks at Pachene, that the first Tsimanes originated through the drawing actions of their creator gods.

\(^3\)I prefer to use the term illness as disease is used in medical anthropological literature to refer to a physio-biological understanding of the process.
Situations of illness and death illustrate most dramatically a loss of knowledge, capabilities and control so necessary for mastered styles of social living. Little or nothing is believed to be known or effective in the face of illness. All that is known and understood is that a desirable state of affairs has been ruptured and violently threatened by the results of anger writ clear on the individual body.

I have inferred in previous chapters that knowledge is essentially absorbed as sensual experience and in turn that bodily presence either creates intimacy or danger (see chapter two and Bourdieu 1977). The nurturant elements of social relationships, of food and drink and of other cosmic forces are experienced by and read upon the body. Real people, real Tsimanes, eat and drink real food and beer and only marry and have sex with other Tsimanes. Such are the vital and most enjoyable elements of social life. Conversely, the simultaneously dangerous forces, latent in these substances and relationships, may be experienced and felt by the body in the form of illness which ultimately preempts death.

The dual nature of necessary nurturance and danger permeates many Amazonian cosmologies and notions of personhood and correct living. For the Makuna, most disease comes from eating improper or unblessed foods (Arhem 1996). When the 'food blesser' or shaman sanitizes the food, he removes the 'weapons' from it and sends them back to their origin. Arhem explains that such an act is itself regenerative in that the 'weapons' are the 'soul' of the animal or plant, and their return to their 'birth house' facilitates a future rebirth. Such is the fulfilled reciprocal relationship between humans and non-humans and a failure of which, on the part of the Makuna, results in disease. The pact of reciprocity implied by the relationship between men and animals is clearly expressed in the ideas about disease. By failing to bless animal food, people in effect refuse to return the life-sustaining and regenerative powers of the animals to their birth houses, thereby denying the species its capacity to reproduce......In revenge, the animals capture human souls and take them to their houses in the rivers and forests. This predatory incursion by the animal spirits into the human life world manifests itself among people as sickness and death. Disease, then, is a punishment for failed reciprocity' (p.196)6.

6See also Overing (1985,1993b) for Piaroa concepts of disease as being sent by animals as punishment for eating animal meat. Disease for the Piaroa, appeared at the end of mythic time along with their theft of the capability to acquire and process animal food. What is essential for the Piaroa in their negotiations with predatory forces is the mastering of knowledge which incorporates both productive and decimating potential. Overing elaborately explores the relationship between an excess of knowledge or of knowledge unmastered and the onset of madness and disease for the Piaroa.
FIG. 2 TSIMANE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY (female ego): see accompanying lists

1 Tse'
2 Jen'
3 Vojity
4 Voji'
5 Ava'
6 Tsédye'
7 Tuúne'
8 Ataj
9 Quis
10 Jäp/Päpäj
11 Vojittyitacye'
12 Voji'yitacye'
13 Nujdye'
14 Nusdyeti
15 Fom'
16 Vi'
17 Jen'dyet
18 Yaya'
19 Jäi'
20 Dyin
21 Viya'
22 Jäye'
23 Pen
24 Vämtyi'
FIG. 1 TSIMANE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY (male ego): see accompanying lists
FIG. 3 YUCUMO GENEALOGY
FIG. 4 PACHENE-BUÑI GENEALOGY
FIG. 5b EXTRACT FROM FATIMA GENEALOGY